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SPEARS AND STAFFS
WITH TWO OR MORE POINTS,
IN AFRICA

BY

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To
Professor C. G. Seligman, M. D.
with the author's
friendship and gratitude.

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SPEARS AND STAFFS WITH TWO OR MORE POINTS, IN AFRICA

SUPPLEMENTARY TO AN EARLIER PAPER

When I was given the honour and pleasure of contributing to the jubilee publication dedicated to Professor C. G. Seligman I chose the above subject because Seligman himself had lent his attention to it and stimulated my own interest in that direction.¹ Contributions had to reach the editor of that publication by April 1932, and during the period of five years that has since passed I have collected so many fresh data as to the occurrence of this type of spears in Africa² that I find justification in publishing a supplementary paper on the implements in question. Thus latter years' editions of "Man" have contained several interesting notices on the subject, and personally — as in the case of my earlier paper — I am indebted to colleagues and friends for fresh material, above all to Willy Schilde, of Plauen, Louis C. G. Clarke, of Cambridge, Renato Boccassino, of Rome, Lidio Cipriani, of Florence, Th. Danzel, of Hamburg, and S. Lagercrantz, of Stockholm. From Schilde I have received bibliographical references, and from Clarke photographs from the Cambridge Museum of spears of this type, at which he has spared himself no trouble in the way of supplying the appertaining particulars. Professor Boccassino has been kind enough to look up what material there is in Rome, in the collections of Museo Preistorico-Etnografico, Museo Coloniale and Società Geografica Italiana, while Professor Cipriani, *inter alia*, has sent me interesting photographs taken by himself on his African expeditions.

For the sake of completeness, and with particular regard to the map of distribution, I include in the following the data embodied in my

earlier paper, though in abbreviated form. Thus, when below no reference is given as to my source of information, this means that such are given in my earlier paper, to which I then refer (here denoted by SF = Seligman's Festschrift). As before, here will also be included forked staffs and certain objects of ritual employment that cannot properly be described as forked staffs, but which, on account of their form as well as their application, may be considered as belonging to this group. Multi-pronged spears exclusively designed for fishing fall beyond the scope of this essay, and are therefore not here dealt with. The figure at the head of each paragraph refers to the maps.

*

1. Saint's spear, with points of different shape, from northern Morocco (SF, fig. 34). Spears of this kind were formerly used by sherifs with great reputation for holiness, especially at functions of acting as peace-makers between contending parties, or on other important occasions when the sherifs were urgently desirous of being obeyed. Cf. No. 18 below.

Although, strictly speaking, they may perhaps not come within the scope of the present disquisition, for the sake of completeness I would however here also mention the bridle sticks that Rodd describes from the Tuaregs of Air. "On these sticks are hung the bridles and ropes when the camels are unsaddled. They are planted outside a man's tent". The sticks in question serve, as will be seen, a practical purpose, but, as Rodd adds, "they sometimes indicate his high position or prosperity".³ Of these sticks Rodd only saw two examples, and they had a cruciform top (Rodd, Pl. 36: 6), but he heard of a trident-topped stick (Rodd, in *Man* 1932, 162).

2. Woloff. In this case my only evidence consists of a drawing from a photograph showing two-pronged spears carried by two men in a group of armed natives. No particulars as to their use.

3. Toucouleur, Gambia. At Charmin, on the north bank of Gambia Palmer observed that a Toucouleur chief of the region was carrying a wooden staff surmounted by a trident. On his inquiring about its origin he was told that it was a "symbol of office", but he obtained no further details.⁴ The trident that Palmer illustrates in "*Man*" bears strong resemblance to another wooden trident which he has presented to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cam-

bridge (No. 33.522), excepting that the former has a large point in the middle, flanked by a short point on either side, while the Cambridge specimen has three points of equal size (fig. 1 and 2, *a—c*). It is provided with pyrographed ornaments, and the "head" is partly painted red.

The Cambridge Museum possesses in addition two multi-pronged ceremonial spears from the north bank of Gambia, also presented by Palmer (Nos. 33.523 and 524; fig. 1, *a—b*), and at least one of them is from the Toucouloirs. Fig. 1, *a* has a tridentate head of some light, white metal (aluminium?) and an engraved brass ferrule at the junction of the three prongs. This spear strongly recalls one found by Germann among the Mandingo of N. Liberia (see below, par. 15). Fig. 1, *b* chiefly consists of the same metal as the foregoing. Its large main point, which is engraved, has at its base no less than 14 secondary points: six — three of which are of brass — on either of its broader sides, and in addition one — of brass — on each of the other sides. Below the main point there is an inscription. The handle, which is of wood, is mounted with ferrules of the white metal. Toucouleur.

4. The *almamy* (or emir) of Bondu carries a two-pronged staff as his badge of office.

5. Among the Malinke (Mandingo) about the rivers Bafing and Bakong (two of the chief sources of the Senegal) tridents and other spears play some part with the members of the Dialunfo society.

6. The Fulani chiefs in the region of the upper reaches of the Faleme (tributary to the Senegal) possess spears with more than one point. Cf. the Fulani in other parts of the Sudan, nos. 9, 36, 39, 43.

7. Mandingo spears, bidents and tridents, from the mainland of Portuguese Guinea (SF, fig. 1). No particulars as to their employment; cf., however, Nos. 13 and 15. It has been stated that they are "fish-gigs", but this is palpably erroneous.

8. Bissagos Islands. Bidents and tridents, of wood or iron, often mistakenly described as fish-gigs. Not even when of the type here illustrated (fig. 3) can they be accepted as such. They may at the most have been evolved out of a fish-gig. Bissagos spears of this type are, as we know, of fairly common occurrence in museums, but they do not seem accompanied with details as to their employment. The only allusion in that direction that I know of is given by Bernatzik, who depicts a "dress spear" from the Bidyogo (Bijugo) on the island

of Formosa (fig. 4). He adds that the inhabitants of that island in our days are disarmed.⁵

9. Fulani of Futa Jallon. Probably ceremonial spears. Cf. SF, fig. 5.

10. Fig. 5 shows a spear in the Luebeck Museum, collected in Konakry in 1903. No other particulars are found with it than that of its being a "dress spear".

11. Susu. Sierra Leone.

12. Mendi. „ „

Nos. 11—12 (Cf. SF, figs. 5—6) are probably ceremonial weapons, or badges of office, and the same may be taken to apply to the trident in the Field Museum, Chicago, that Hambly illustrates in "Man" 1931, 44, and states to have come from Sierra Leone. This type is also represented in the Cambridge Museum (No. 1920. 250, fig. 1 d), collected by Tremearne, and labelled "Ashanti". Its point has incised ornaments on both sides, while the shaft is entirely covered with skin, (with the hair worn off) or leather, divided into three sections by bands of leather which are painted red and have grass woven into the middle. Spears with handles of this type from Sierra Leone are found in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. In connection with a statement as to this spear originating from Ashanti, Mr. Clarke has been kind enough to write to Captain Wild, of the Gold Coast Mines Department, who, among others, consulted some Ashanti natives and elicited that "though the spear may have been procured in Ashanti, it was not made there". And Capt. W. adds: "the only three-pronged weapon or implement I know of in this country is the three-pointed paddle, used entirely on the seaboard by fishing tribes". In my opinion these spears probably originate from Sierra Leone.

13. Mandingo, of the interior of Sierra Leone. "Globus" XXV (1874), p. 322, contains a drawing of a group of Mandingo, among them a chief on horseback, carrying a trident, while his warriors are armed with single-pointed spears. No particulars are given in the text. Cf. Nos. 5, 7 and 15.

14. Timne, Sierra Leone. Chiefs carry a long staff, forked at the top.

15. Commendi (Mandingo) in N. Liberia. Among these people Germann observed a man — not a chief, but one of the village notables — who carried a trident as an emblem of authority.⁶

16. Avikam, the Ivory Coast, Bidents. Weapons? No longer in use and uncertain if of Avikam manufacture.

17. Spear with several points from the region of Sarafere on the middle Niger (Cf. SF, fig. 8).

18. Habe. Staff, tridentate at the top, attribute of the *Hogon*, the great chief who also is the high-priest of the Habe. It is interesting to know that this staff was used in about the same way as the saint's spear in Morocco (Cf. 1, above).

19. Objects of copper from the Lobi ruins in the neighbourhood of the town of Gaua, west of the black Volta river: a bident and a trident in the form of a two — respectively three — headed snake (SF, fig. 9). Parallels have been found among the Negro tribes Nabe and Kulango south of Lobi. Among the former, the two-headed snake constitutes a kind of tutelary fetish, while the latter regard the three-headed one as the personification of the Earth, a creative power whom the Kulango worship in order to secure numerous progeny and full crops.

With regard to the peculiar spears found among the Hausa, emblems of the Bori spirits, which are referred to under par. 35 below, Tremearne cites Elworthy when he states that similar ones are "in use among the negro savages of Ashantee . . . where they are used to stick into the ground 'to protect the crop sown from evil spirits'." This statement accompanies the three iron standards (fig. 6) that are preserved in the Museum at Taunton. Compare with this the negative information given from Ashanti in regard to three-pronged spears referred to under par. 12 above. It can also be questioned whether the objects shown in fig. 6 are describable as a bident and a trident. Or should their points perhaps more correctly be explained as half-moons? Neither in Rattray nor in any other author have I been able to find confirmation of the statement attaching to the Taunton objects, nor any evidence of multi-pronged spears, unless among such be counted the shrine to the Sky God that, according to Rattray, every compound in Ashanti contains "in the shape of a forked branch cut from a certain tree which the Ashanti call '*Nyame dua*, literally God's tree (*Alstonia congensis*). Between the branches, which are cut short, is placed a basin, or perhaps a pot, and in this receptacle is generally to be found (besides the offering) a neolithic celt ('*Nyame akuma*, God's axe)".⁸ Whether this forked branch, *per se*, has a reli-

gious function, or whether it only serves a practical purpose — that of supporting the pot — I cannot venture to determine. Cf. below, pars. 25, 33 and 57.

20. In Atyuti, Togoland, the fetish-priest, who also was the chief of the country, possessed among other insignia the *odom* stick, consisting of an ordinary stick with short branching forks at its upper end.

21. The Ewe of southern Togoland worship Jewe, the God of lightning, of snakes and of fishes, but who also is a goddess, including among the paraphernalia of its cult an iron staff with two short branches at the upper end, and known as *sofia* (God's axe).

22. Among the cult objects of the Joruba goddess Osun, who lives in the Osun river and is especially worshipped in Ibadan, weapons occupy a leading position including spears with two or more points. At great festivals held in honour of Osun these weapons are stuck into the river bank.⁹

23. From Benin the Hamburg Museum possesses a beautiful bident of yellow metal, richly decorated with serpentine ornaments and intertwined scroll-work (fig. 7). v. Luschan mentions it, but gives no illustration.¹⁰ A picture of this bident is found in Hagen, although it is not very distinct. The latter author describes it as being an object of fairly modern date and presumably nothing but a "spielerische Weiterbildung" in the same way as the modern paddles of the Jekri (near Benin), which are often double-bladed. The type of spear depicted on the bronze plaques is quite different.¹¹ Again, among the bronzes in the king's palace in Benin there is said to have been found a two-bladed object with openwork ornamentation (on each blade an alligator). Doetsch supposes this to have been "the state paddle of the Benin kingdom", a paddle for occasions of gala ("Prunkrunder").¹² Judging by everything, it is probably an imitation of a Jekri paddle.¹³

By way of completing the list of this class of objects may here also be mentioned those quaint-looking iron objects from Benin which occasionally are shaped as some sort of trident, and whose use still remains unknown (by v. Luschan referred to as "baumähnliche Ständer", p. 453), and the *erigo*, the two-forked instrument, a kind of two-bladed dagger, which was part of the official dress of the Oba, or the king of Benin".¹⁴ Bates describes a number of short, double-

bladed swords from Benin and Ashanti, "ceremonial swords used by kings and priests for fetish purposes".¹⁵ As regards multi-pointed knives used as symbols of office in the Congo I refer to Schilde's paper on African symbols of rank (*Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, 61, 1929).

24. From the town of Okrika, S. Nigeria, the Pitt-Rivers Museum possesses a spear with a very long shaft and four iron points (SF, fig. 10). It is a spear for crocodiles and large fish, but also used in war and for taking victims for some great cannibal *juju*.

25. From the Ibo Talbot mentions, among clay figures and other symbolic images at the base of a cotton tree, a number of forked sticks, driven into the ground or raised on little clay mounds. From these depended strings of great snail shells (*Acatina marginata*) or empty fish racks.¹⁶ Probably the forked sticks not only acted as supports for the suspension of objects, but also played some part of their own. The group was assembled by girls of marriageable age as a means of increasing fertility.

26. Of the Aros of Aro Chuku, west of Cross River and northwest of Calabar, Palmer writes that they "have a type of spear almost exactly the same as that reproduced by Mr. Cullen Young in "Man" 1929, 147 [see below par. 86]. The type probably came originally from Bornu"¹⁷ (Cf. par. 38). Of its use P. says nothing.

Dr. Danzel has sent me a sketch of a trident preserved in the Hamburg Museum, stated to originate from "Nigeria" (fig. 8). No further particulars are given about it. That it should have come from Nigeria appears to me open to some doubt, and I am instead inclined in this case to suggest the Bissago Islands (Cf. fig. 3 above).

27. Bali, Cameroon. From this people Hutter describes the "*woma* dance", an important, ritual feast of a week's duration, which is connected with the rapid growth of the crops upon the cessation of the long rainy season. The rites bound up with this feast are designed to keep away and dispel malignant influences from the village and, above all, from the growing crops. In one of these ceremonies three old men, attired in "peaceful ornaments", issue from the chief's compound and slowly walk through the entire village and out in the fields, while carrying in their hands ritual objects made of iron, fig. 9. No woman is allowed to see these objects because, according to the natives, then "she would bear no more children".¹⁸ The object seen in fig. 9 is

probably a symbol of fecundity; its shape is suggestive of some sort of "tree of life".

Another feast celebrated by the Bali is the *leda* feast, which, unlike the *woma*, is of a warlike character. In connection with it Hutter mentions two poles set up at the chief's place in the open space where the villagers foregather. These poles consist of a tree-stem with three branches left on, and from these are suspended the chief's bundle of spears (a symbol of his office) and some skulls of slain foes. It does not clearly appear from Hutter's description (p. 431) whether primarily the poles referred to exclusively function as depositories for the spears and the skulls, or whether in addition they also possess some ritual significance. However that may be, Hutter refers to these poles as "sacred".

28. In the village of Baba (east of Bali) in Cameroon B. Ankermann saw the headman carrying a two-bladed spear as a badge of office.

29. The Ejap at Bagam, Cameroon: A detail of a succession of complicated ancestral rites consisted (in 1917) in the headchief — who combines his office with that of a priest as well — rubbing a forked stick first with salt and then with powdered camwood, and planting it in one of the beds prepared for seeds or seedlings of every plant cultivated by the Ejap. This proceeding symbolized that all the sowing had been done for the benefit of the spirits of departed fellow-townsmen.¹⁹

30. The Tikar, Cameroon? L. Clarke has been kind enough to send me a drawing he has made from memory of a trident which he saw in private possession in Cambridge. It is halberd-like, with a long, central point of iron, from the base of which to either side projects a curved brass detail with a barbed point. It may, however, be drawn into question whether this spear really originates from the Tikar. In his exhaustive description of these people, Thorbecke, as regards outward symbols of chieftainship only mentions a cap, a tobacco pipe of bronze, and a stool.²⁰

31. Professor Boccassino¹ has kindly sent me a photograph of a bident, preserved at the British Museum (No. 1915. 12. 71), from the Tiv (Ikorav clan) of Katsena, Allah District, Muri Province, N. Nigeria (fig. 10). With three tiers of triple bells, all of iron. No information as to its use. Possibly a ceremonial spear.

32. In the Jukun's cult of Yaku ("grandmother" or "ancestor") are, according to Meek, among the symbols of the cult a forked piece of iron known as the "spear". M. says that the Yaku rites "are akin to the state of dissociation and ecstasy known to the Hausa as *bori*". The Jukun are Hamitic or Semi-Hamitic emigrants from Kordofan long ago. They constitute a sacerdotal hierarchy, dominating a number of loosely organized tribes. In the Middle-Ages they exerted considerable power over a large part of Hausaland, but their power was destroyed by the Fulani.

According to Palmer, the Jukun also possess the "spear" mentioned in the foregoing in connection with the Aros (par. 26).

33. Among the Bashama, in the neighbourhood of Yola on the upper Benue, a *körto* — "a young tree dividing into three branches at the top, so that a bowl can be placed in the trifurcation" — is the symbol of Ndseándo, who is one of the most important members of their spiritual world.²¹ Outside one compound Ethel Fegan saw three forked posts, "each post containing a rather gory-looking (or red-painted?) pig's skull, and we were told that these were specially to remind the spirits concerned about good hunts in the past year, and to jog their memories to make them help again now. A little grass fringe was set on each post just below the fork". At the entrance to the compound of a deceased celebrated hunter and fisherman stood a forked post against which his bow was leaning, "wrapped in strips of native white cloth with some red cock's feathers in a bunch at the top, his quiver, hoes, and so on".²² Brönnum says (p. 151) that offerings are made at the *körto*, but at any rate from the cases cited by Fegan it does not clearly appear whether the trifurcations *per se* are of magical or ritual import, or merely serving as supports. The same applies to "the stick with tripod termination for holding a medicine pot, familiar in the Calabar district, at Warri, and elsewhere".²³ Nor have I, for that reason, included this detail with the Nigerian data above.

Here may further be mentioned that when among the Bapoto of the Upper Congo twins are born, the placentae are put into two old vessels raised on forked sticks erected on each side of the road leading to the village. They are a sign that twins have been born and are supposed to act as a fetish against evil influence. The sticks serve

here perhaps merely as supports.²⁴ A very similar method employed in the disposal of placentas is found among the Bobangi (Bayanzi).²⁵

34. Some way north of the Bashama we have the Lala (Lela) people. The chief of Ga'anda is acknowledged as their high-priest, *nikulata*, but not as their overlord (with exception of the present Lala district). "The wand of office carried by the *Tikulata* is forked at the top, about five feet long, and of the thickness of a man's thumb. It passes from *Tikulata* to *Tikulata* and should it be lost, a new one must be cut by him in the Grove (at the base of the rock on which the annual sacrifice to Farda takes place. Farda is the Sun, the one Supreme Being, Creator and Father of all). It is always carried by him when acting as chief priest, and also during time of war. On the occasion of the Fulani raid in 1899 the *Tikulata* stood on the top of the south-west spur of Birni Hill, holding aloft the forked stick and calling on Farda to grant victory to the Lala".²⁶

35. The emblems of some of the spirits (*bori*) believed in by the Hausa consist of multiple-pointed spears of a peculiar shape (vide SF, fig. 12). One of these spirits is Sarikin Rafi, the chief spirit of lakes and rivers. He is the patron of the rain-makers, too. Sarikin Masu is the name of Sarikin Rafi when he acts as a fisherman.

36. Among the nomadic Fulani of N. Nigeria — no detailed information available — "the use of the forked stick (*suguhi* or *sar-kulli*) and of a cross (*buguwal*) for the protection of encampments is noteworthy".²⁷

37. Meek has informed Seligman that among the Kanuri he has seen spears with two or three blades. So far as he know they were not of religious or official significance. Cf. 38.

38. The chief of the town of Gabai, in Bornu (south of Gujba) inhabited by a Mahommedan tribe called Ngassar, had a very good armoury, *inter alia* long spears with four-bladed heads, when MacLeod visited him.

It is possible that these spears, referred to by Meek and MacLeod, in the course of time have lost their original significance, seeing that Palmer (*op. cit.*) expressly states: "In the old kingdom of Bornu 800—1800 A. D., the badge of office *par excellence* carried by the chief nobles (*kokuna*) was a spear surmounted by a 'trident'. This trident spear was known in Kanuri as *Mamanan-gi*, a name which seems cognate to the Berber word *Imanan* or *Tamanan* (plural of

Aman = chief), with the masculine suffix *gi* (as in *Tar-gi*, pl. *Tu-warik*)”.

39. The Leipzig Museum possesses a trident from the Fulani of Adamawa (SF, fig. 13).

40. The *mai* (sultan) of Birni Logone, the capital of the Kotoko country, with its people of the same name: At the time when MacLeod visited the *mai*, the latter was giving a sort of feast in a big square outside his palace. A band was playing, and, "while it played, four men holding brass pitchforks stood by the *mai*. It is their business to run before him when he rides and clear the branches from his path. One of them had other duties too, for he was a jester and raconteur, and chanted praises of the sultan almost unceasingly. MacLeod gives a sketch, small, and not very clear, of one of those forks (p. 123). What they were supposed to signify he does not say, but it is probable that they constituted some sort of regalia of the sultan. The Cambridge Museum possesses a ceremonial forked staff of the Mahommedan chief or sultan of "Karnak Logone" (Logone Birni. Vide SF, fig. 14).

41. From the Bagirmi there is the well-known picture in Denham and Clapperton's travels of the double-bladed spear used for war by the cavalry who employed quilted armour.

42. From Fittri Lieut. G. Moberg has acquired for the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden two spear-heads, one bident and one trident (SF, fig. 15). Spears of this kind were carried by participants in the exhibition of horsemanship ("fantasia") given by the sultan Mahmat at the time of Moberg's visit.

43. Among the "Felata" (Fulani) in Darfur and Kordofan the sultans possess a spear with three points (SF, fig. 16).

44. Among the Dubab of Jebel Daier (S. E. of El Obeid) the Nis-
wania subsection, who are admitted to be of Nuba descent, possess four paraphernalia used when an oath of great solemnity has to be taken (cf. par. 52). They are photographed by Bolton and the picture shows, *inter alia*, a clumsy wooden fork which, however, is not mentioned by B. in the letter-press.²⁸

45. Shilluk; 46. Dinka; 47. Neur, and 48. Bari: Professor Cipriani has told me that he observed two-pronged staffs for practical use among the above tribes, though less frequently among the Shilluk. He writes:²⁹ "They use the objects as a kind of walking-stick. When

standing, as they usually do, on one leg they lean on the two-pronged staff (as they do also with the spear), hooking the two middle fingers in the split. I have photographs taken in such a position assumed naturally by them". I here reproduce a photograph from the Shilluk (fig. 11), and another from the Bari (fig. 12), which Prof. Cipriani has very kindly placed at my disposal. As regards the Shilluk, cf. par. 53 below.

From the Bari I also have authenticated instances of forked staffs and two-bladed spears used in rain-making rites and as emblems of dignity, as well as one regarding tridents being used as weapons. Beaton illustrates a certain deceased rain-maker's rain and judgement stick (fig. 13). It can also be noticed that one of the wooden grave stakes planted on the grave of the departed rain-maker has, at the top, two prongs (the right-hand one called the "male", and the other the "female").³⁰ As will be seen from fig. 13, there are two small objects depending from the prongs of the rainmaker's stick, but the illustration is too small for enabling one to make out their nature. For comparison, reference may be made to Morlang's account (Petermanns Mitteil., 1862, p. 119) of his meeting, southwest of Gondokoro, a blind Bari chief (*matat*) who carried a forked staff from the upper end of which was suspended a small bell which had been given to him by a medicine man (*bunit*) and therefore was very important. According to A. Kaufmann (Das Gebiet d. Weissen Flusses u. dessen Bewohner, p. 153: Brixen 1861) the title of *matat* is not exclusively applied to chiefs, but "jeder grössere Besitzer führt nun diesen Titel und trägt einen zweisackigen Stock, *putet*, der wohl als Scepter gelten kann".³¹

Among Bari rain-spears Spire (Journ. Afr. Soc. 1905) mentions one with two points, used by Leju, the rain-maker of Shindurru, and the hereditary chief rain-maker of the Bari. Seligman points out that this two-headed spear is clearly equivalent of the two-bladed rain-spear of the Lotuko (see below).³²

Regarding the southern Bari, Koschy (Mitteil. Geogr. Ges. Wien 1858, p. 102) states that among their weapons there is also "a trident with cutting blades, which they hurl at their enemies". As to this weapon I have found no further information. Compare this, however, with the Moru, par. 55 below. I am not quite certain as to what K. means by "southern Bari".

49. A bident from Mongalla in the Dresden Museum (No. 41334, vide SF, fig. 18) may perhaps be from the Bari.

50. Among the Lokoia (better Leria, according to Driberg), a Lotuko-speaking tribe, the Seligmans saw a rain-maker performing the rain rites at the grave of this father, the previous rain-maker. Rain-stones and a two-bladed spear called *othwok* were used in the ceremony.³³

51. Among the sacred rain-spears of the Lotuko the Seligmans saw at least one two-bladed.³⁴

52. The Acholi (Shuli) take an oath on a special spear kept by the rain-maker, presumably the rain-spear, sometimes double-bladed. Such an oath is most binding, and if broken entails death³⁵ (cf. par. 44).

53. The Anuak, the Shilluk-speaking tribe on the Sobat River, possess different royal emblems, among them a spear (*oshalla*), and an iron fork (*daquary*) with two long, curving points, 14 inches in length. This fork had been lost for some years but was recovered in 1934 and delivered to the custodian of the royal emblems, who used it as a rest for the *oshalla* spear.³⁶ It may however be questioned whether this was the original use of the fork. And if such was the case (cf. Nos. 33, 76), it was probably not only used as a spear-rest but also served as a royal emblem (cf. No. 72). In this connection it may fittingly be mentioned that, according to tradition, the founder of the royal house, from whom the regalia are said have descended, was a "white man". Is it perhaps possible that he was an Abyssinian, or a Kaficho? The Anuak country lies not so very far from Kaffa, where a bident was included among the emblems of royalty (cf. No. 61).

54. The Vienna Museum possesses — although lacking information as to its use — a double-bladed spear from the Alur (SF, fig. 19). From this people I also know a sort of wooden trident with no other function than that of being "fétiche du chef Tjulu" (fig. 14).³⁷

55. At a Moru game-drive with hunting nets, in which Bernatzik took part together with the Moru sultan, the men carried "schwere Speere mit doppelter Spitze. Die eine ist breit und lang, die andere hat meisselförmiges Aussehen". In this description of B's, hunting weapons are evidently referred to (Cf. Nos. 62, 95).

56. Bongo, or Mittu. In Franz Binder's collection from the "Djur", preserved at Hermannstadt (Siebenbürgen), there is a forked staff,

referred to as a "priest's staff", or, as Hirschberg writes, "vermutlich den Stab eines Zauberers".³⁸ It consists of a slender pole, forked at the end, 171 cm. long (fig. 15). As has been shown by Seligman and Hirschberg, these "Djur" — judging by everything — appear to belong to the Bongo-Mittu group.

57. The Banda possess a "fétiche des cultures", called *gbandi*. "Le *gbandi* consiste en deux fourches de 50 cm. fixées en terre sur lesquelles sont placés deux baguettes en travers. Cette installation fétichiste se trouve à proximité du grenier à mil; elle est destinée à préserver le sorgho encore vert que pourrait faire sécher le passage des voyageurs dans la plantation en temps prohibé. On lui offre des oeufs pour que la récolte soit d'un bon rendement".³⁹ Forked sticks are also used as accessories to the worship of certain spirits, and as family fetishes, but from the description just quoted it does not appear whether the forks, as such, are of any specific importance or only serving as supports for other objects (Cf. *Daigre, op. cit.* pp. 676, 684).

58. B. Struck has pointed out to me that an Asande bident is depicted by R. Brown (The story of Africa, II, p. 33. London 1893).

59. The Dresden Museum possesses a bident from the Mangbetu (SF, fig. 20).

With the above I include a bident in Museo Preistorico, in Rome (No. 65538), of which no other particulars are given than "Eastern Sudan" (fig. 16). Length of the iron, 34 cm. The shaft is not of native manufacture.

Let us now proceed to northeastern Africa, making Sennar our point of transit.

60. The Khalifas, or earthly representatives of dead saints among the Ya'qubab of Sennar, possess certain insignia of their caliphate, above all a stool of office. But other insignia also exist, the origin of which are unknown to the present-day Ya'qubab, including rain-spears and iron *shaibas*, or sceptres, at the top shaped like a forked staff (fig. 17).⁴⁰

61. In Kaffa a short bident (*shefo*) formed part of the state regalia that the Emperor was invested in when exercising functions of state. Except by himself or, as a sign of him, carried by his mes-

sengers as a token of their mission, no spear of this kind was permitted to be carried by any Kafficho (SF, fig. 21).

62. Museo Preistorico-Etnografico in Rome possesses a twinbladed spear (Coll. Giglioli, No. 810) from "Gimma [Djimma] Abagifar", a Mohammedan Galla "sultanate" northeast of Kaffa (fig. 18). According to information supplied Boccassino by Professor Enrico Cerulli, Gimma is the name of the tribe, and Abagifar the residence of the "sultan". It is further stated by Cerulli that the spear in question is used in hunting and not for any ceremonial purpose (cf. Moru, par. 55 above). With all due respect to Professor Cerulli's authority I am bound to say that, in view of the spear's appearance, this statement strikes me as rather improbable.

63. Of the high priest among the Gurage, Azais relates that in the centre of his court-yard "se trouve l'emblème de sa puissance: un piquet en terre avec deux branches en forme d'U."

64. From Amhara, Montandon depicts a two-bladed spear (SF, fig. 22) with a long shaft (2.5 m.), but he makes no mention of its use. Judging from his sketch, which is very small, this spear is of the same type as the one here illustrated from Gimma (par. 62).

65. Even among the entourage of the Emperor of Abyssinia it appears that high officials occasionally carried a bident. Thus it is stated by R. Hartmann (1883) in a description of the festivities held in connection with the enthronement of Abuna (archbishop) Petro: "On horseback and flourishing a 'sonderbare gabelförmige Lanze', Begerondi Leote (treasurer to Negus Johannos) was by his personal appearance the centre of the eager spectators' admiring glances". According to Rein, it was Menelik that introduced the twin-bladed spear for his body-guard, and he publishes a small sketch of the point of a spear of this kind.⁴¹ It is of a type similar to that seen in fig. 18.

Rohrer writes that multi-pronged spears are common among the warriors attending the courts of Abyssinian princes. The points are either parallel or placed side by side (cf. fig. 19). Their use does not appear to be anything particularly beyond the ordinary, he adds.⁴² For some recent information on this subject from Addis Ababa I am indebted to Clarke, who got it from Captain Wilfred Thesiger. The latter, Clarke writes me, once saw in the market-place spears with one- and two-bladed heads, as well as a triplex one. He bought them all except the latter. He had never seen a triple-bladed spear

in use, but at Addis Ababa he on two occasions observed two-bladed ones being used by Abyssinians, and once by Somalis. Fig. 19 shows these spears.

These data would have gained in value if Thesiger had mentioned the *manner* in which the spears were used. I am very glad, however, to have received photographs of them as I am thereby enabled to identify a trident and a bident in Pont. Museo Miss. Ethnol. Lateranense in Rome, for illustrations of which I am indebted to Father Schulien. Vide SF, fig. 38. They are labelled "Nyasaland" and "Kenya", respectively. These statements at once aroused my scepticism, and in my earlier treatise I placed them under the heading "undefined locality". These spears, however, are of a type identical with those acquired by Thesiger, and this also applies to the ornamentation on the lower part, in regard to which T. has stated to Clarke that it is "a decoration common in Abyssinia".

66. Here I may add that Professor Cipriani has sent me two photographs, one being of a bident which is practically identical with the one depicted on the extreme left in fig. 19, and the other a trident (fig. 20) corresponding to one illustrated by myself in my earlier essay (SF, fig. 38) only with the slight difference that the base portion of the trident is of plainer workmanship than that of the former. And lastly I have received from Cipriani a photograph of a spear of this type with no less than 5 points (fig. 21). All three spears, C. writes me, belong to the African Society in Naples. No further particulars are available as regards these spears than their having come "from the interior of Italian Somaliland".

67. In a letter to Clarke, Thesiger further supplies the following valuable and interesting piece of information which C. has been kind enough to pass on to me: "The Moslem pilgrims to the tomb of Sheik Hussein on the Webbi Shebeli in Bale, Abyssinia (near the Ogaden frontier), carry a two- or three-forked wand (peeled) on returning from the tomb. This is a sign that they have accomplished their pilgrimage. I was told that they were given the wand by the mullah at Sheik Hussein, and I think that it is true to say that the pilgrims without exception carry the wand on the return journey". Bale is presumably identical with Bari, the place where Webbi Shebeli leaves the highland plain and flows into the Somali lowland (*Rein, op. cit.*, p. 106).

The above constitutes the only instance that has come to my knowledge of Mohammedan pilgrim wands of this type. It would seem as if these wands were connected with the saint's spear in Morocco, as well as with the *shaibas* of the khalifas of Sennar (cf. pars. 1 and 60 above).

68. Among the material sent me by Prof. Boccassino from the Società Geografica's collections in Rome is a bident (No. 340, fig. 22) from Mohammedan Dankali of the Aussa sultanate. According to what Dr. Traversi has told Boccassino, the sultan hands a spear of this type to his messengers as a sort of safe-conduct, and this is everywhere respected. Insolence offered to the bearer of such a spear is equivalent to insulting the sultan himself. Thus it will be seen that the import of this bident is similar to the one described above from Kaffa, which it also resembles as regards shape. Traversi adds that this spear only carries authority among the tribes within the sultanate, but not outside its limits. Other tribes, he says, such as the Nonnu Galla of the Ghibic Province, have an ivory club as a safe-conduct. When Nesbitt visited the sultan of Aussa he was by way of protection on his travels supplied with a guide carrying the sultan's "silver Baton of Command".⁴³

69. In the Cambridge Museum there is a sort of bident from British Somaliland (No. 23. 1627 A), the head of which (fig. 23) is about 8 inches long.

70. From the Northern Somali tribes in Italian Somaliland, Darrod and Ishak, Briccetti depicts, without further mention, two bidents of different types (SF, fig. 24).

71. Prof. Cipriani has sent me a photograph of the bident fig. 24, in the Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia in Firenze, and he writes: "It was collected by the resident of Obbia (Italian Somaliland) near Rocca Littorio (indigenous name: Gallacio). The region is inhabited by the Haver-Ghedir tribe (Somali of the Hauia group). It appears that this kind of spear is very rare in the region. Unhappily the resident did not ask an information about the use."

Let us now turn to the districts south of the White Nile area, the kingdoms of the Lake Region.

72. In Unyoro multiple-headed spears were appurtenances of the king as well as of the queen. The Oxford Museum possesses a fork-

like bident, labelled "Royal sceptre, Bunyore", presented by Roscoe. When the king had chosen his queen, she received two insignia of office, one consisting of a long iron spear with two sharp points like a two-pronged fork. She was also given a four-headed spear, which was intended for real use, for her new office carried with it estates and subjects, and she had the power of life and death over all her people".⁴⁴ In his account of certain ceremonies that the king had to perform, Roscoe describes some regal emblems carried by the bearers of the royal standard: "Three of them were spears with long leaf-shaped blades, and the fourth was an instrument rather like a two-pronged rake, on the prongs of which were hung a bag of seeds and a bundle of tinder for torch-making".⁴⁵

73. From Uganda Roscoe mentions "the regal spear", but he says nothing as to its appearance. According to R. Hartmann, whose source of information is unknown to me, king Mtesa used a double-bladed spear as a kind of sceptre for the symbol of his power. For some especially valuable informations I have to thank Father Schulien, whose informant is Monsignore J. W. Campling, Uganda, vicario apostolico of the Upper Nile: "Double-bladed spears are insignia of supremacy. The Kabaka (king) of Buganda is supposed to possess supernatural power over his enemies, and therefore in wars he is supposed to fight as if he possessed double spears, meaning double force. The kings of Uganda are not really supposed to die, their spirit remains, and double-bladed spears are placed around their graves to enable them to overcome their enemies. No legends or stories point to their use in olden days. The high-priests of the principal deities had double-bladed spear in their temples as a sign of their supernatural power with which they could overcome their foes or the various ills of mankind; in the latter case they held the double-bladed spear in their hands as a wand, not as a sign of magic, but to denote that they were above ordinary creatures".

In the Cambridge Museum there is a roughly worked spear from a "temple" in Uganda, made entirely of iron with two blades (simply leaf-shaped without mid-rib) set face to face, each of which has a circular perforation at its base, and another one through the shaft, below the points. A length of the lower portion of the shaft is spiral-turned⁴⁶ (No. 08. 635, fig. 25 *a*). In the same museum are found the five spears (Nos. 20. 248—252) that are seen in figs 26 and 25 *b*.

These, too, have been collected by Roscoe. They are labelled "deity (*Lubare*) spears",⁴⁷ and originate, according to what I am told by Clarke, from ruined temples. In five of these spears the main point is surrounded by eight minor points, while one of them is only provided with six of the latter. Their handles are of some kind of light-coloured wood with pyrograved, meandering borders around them, and at the bottom end a roughly worked, pointed ferrule. The spear, as a whole, is besides of rather crude workmanship. They are fairly short, and all nearly of the same length, which is about 160 cm.

Another instance from Uganda, to which S. Lagercrantz has drawn my attention, is given by Emin Pascha in his diaries. He makes mention of a small bident, all of iron, that was part of the equipment of a medicine-man who paid a visit to the king of Uganda at the latter's capital, Kampala.⁴⁸

74. Ankole? The king of Ankole, too, possesses "sacred spears", but those depicted by Roscoe are exclusively one-bladed. R. says that the ruler of Ankole, when acting in his capacity of judge, "usually carried the ordinary walking-stick, a forked stick 6 or 7 feet long, called *esando*". On the ground of the epithet "ordinary" seems to me, however, uncertain whether this stick may properly be regarded as a symbol of authority for the king.

75. From the "museum or armoury" of Rumanica, the king of Karagwe, Stanley among other things mentions double-bladed spears. Sacred spears, objects of worship, are found in Urundi, but among them no multi-pointed ones appear to be included.⁴⁹

76. S. Lagercrantz has drawn my attention to an interesting bow-stand from Buddu, mentioned and depicted by Kollmann. In the reception hut of Rukika, the "sultan" of Buddu, K. found a large forked stick (about 2.16 m.), on which the chief hung his bow (fig. 27). "At first he absolutely refused to give me the original, but did so after a longish *shauri* (bargaining) and after receiving several presents. The bow was Karagwe work".⁵⁰

The above bow-stand constitutes another example of the stands for chiefs' weapons that we have already become acquainted with from the Anuak (par. 53) and which we shall meet in a different form among the Babemba and other tribes of N. S. Rhodesia, as well as among the Baluba (pars. 88, 98).

Further evidence as to the occurrence of bow-stands in Tanganyika

Territory — for which I am again indebted to Lagercrantz — comes from the Sandawe (Wasandui) of the Kilimatindi district. "In the tembes [huts] one often sees simple stands known as *nara*, so called from the tree called *nara* — from the wood of which they are made — on which are placed vessels, or bows and arrows".⁵¹ Dempwolff publishes (fig. 7 in his book) a drawing of a stand of this type, consisting of two forked sticks driven into the ground. On this stand is seen lying a bow (string downwards) and an arrow. In this case a purely utilitarian purpose appears to be filled, and nothing constituting an appliance exclusively reserved for chiefs.

77. From Kiziba, Rehse depicts a "Zauber-Speer" which shows an incipience of three points. R. has a drawing of it in the chapter on agriculture (vide also SF, fig. 26), but I can find no mention of it in his book. The king and the ruling class in Kiziba consist of immigrated Bahima, and the members of the royal family trace their descent to the first Bunyoro-ruler in Karagwe.

78. A spear-head of, practically speaking, exactly the same kind as that described by Rehse is reproduced by A. Haberlandt in Buschan's *Völkerkunde* (I, p. 535, a drawing from the original in Linden-Museum, Stuttgart). Here it is described as "spear-head, ancient coin" from Usandaui, i. e. from the Sandawe country. Of the correctness of this I am not in a position to judge, but only wish to add that Dempwolff (*op. cit.*, p. 105), on the subject of substitutes for currency mentions that the Sandawe possess no native ones.

From places of sacrifice and cult observances among the Wanyamwezi, Bösch depicts forked poles, occasionally covered or wound with straw (cf. par. 102), which are planted in the ground.⁵² They are from the *mlama* tree, "the tree of life" (*kulama* meaning "to live"), probably so named from its wood being very strong and impervious. This tree plays an important part in ancestral worship and also in magic. From Bösch's description it does not, however, appear that the forked shape of the poles has any other significance than the purely practical one of providing support for cult objects suspended from them. I therefore confine myself to drawing attention to these poles, and do not include them in the map of geographical distribution. In Blohm (*Die Nyamwezi*, Hamburg 1933) I have been unable to find any information about them.

79. Before proceeding further in Tanganyika Territory let us

digress for a moment towards the northeast. From the region between Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean I only know of a solitary instance, viz. from the Akamba. The highest in rank of their old men carry a pronged wooden staff (*maka*) as a symbol of their dignity (SF., Pl. XII. Cf. G. Lindblom, *The Akamba of British East Africa*, p. 144. Upsala 1920).

80. From the Swahili I have no authenticated instance, but one from the fisher population in the village of Makunduchi in the south-east portion of Zanzibar may be included here. Ingrams describes how at the exorcizing dance *nyange* — the name of a devil — performed by women, about a dozen of the women carry iron tridents affixed to long handles". This devil is said to be contracted only at sea. "No one can fail", Ingrams adds, "to be struck by the likeness of the sea-devil with a trident (a weapon unknown in Zanzibar, and used by the people of Makunduchi only in this dance) to the story of Poseidon, and there can be little doubt that it is a relic of the worship of that deity, brought by the Greeks of old". The people of Makunduchi derive, according to Ingrams, the name of their village from the village of Konduchi on the mainland (opposite the south part of the island), whence they state they came. Since a coin of Ptolemy X Soter (151—80 B. C.) was found at Msasani, but a short distance from Konduchi, there has been a tendency to identify this place with the town of Rhapta mentioned in Periplus.

We now return to Tanganyika Territory.

81. Wataturu. Dr. H. Baumann has informed me that the Berlin Museum possesses a kind of trident, found in 1905 in a hut at Turu and "undoubtedly of foreign origin". A drawing appended by B. shows its point to be roughly of the same shape as the well-known trident paddles of the upper Guinea coast.

82. Wabena. The chiefs of the Wabena of the Ulanga Valley — the Ulanga is a tributary of the Rufiji River — possess certain objects, family heirlooms, originating from the founder of their dynasty, one Manga, "who is eight generations distant from the present chief". According to Mr. and Mrs. Culwick, these objects *inter alia* include a sacred drum and three "curious iron objects, very old in appearance", which are bidents of a kind (fig. 28).⁵³ They are about 2 feet long. The ornamentation at the base of the prongs, the authors say, resembles cord lashings, suggesting an earlier composite form.

Possibly the objects in question originally were of wood, and the "ornamentation" in that case a relic of the metal wire wound round the staff. On the two-pronged staffs of the Kamba elders, mentioned above, I have frequently observed a lashing of this kind, applied so as to prevent splitting at the bifurcation. According to Culwick, the Wahehe chiefs (83 on the map), who are said to count their descent from a brother of Manga, possess wooden copies of the iron bident. These heirlooms of the Wabena chiefs are kept in a "spirit-house", and certain observances are connected with them. The skill of the local smiths is not equal to the task of making them. It is not known what these objects were used for, nor whence they came beyond the fact that Manga brought them with him as heirlooms handed down from his remote ancestors. In this connection mention may be made of the tradition which says that Manga and his brother were sons of a "white man" (Cf. Anuak, par. 53 above). Perhaps the drum, which also is part of the family heirlooms, is capable of furnishing a clue for the determination of the origin of these objects.

84. Dr. H. Baumann has kindly mentioned to me that in Lieutenant Glauning's extensive collection of manuscripts on tribes in Tanganyika Territory (particularly around Lake Rukwa), preserved in Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, he has found a statement concerning an iron bident from Ubungu (Lake Rukwa). This bident, "den nur der Sultan selbst tragen durfte", Glauning discovered planted in the ground in front of a hut containing the grave of a chief who was said to have died some fifty years ago. Surrounding this spear were similarly placed a number of strangely shaped iron objects about which, however, G. was unable to obtain any explanation. (Bow-stands?). He considers that they have been imported, or else are very old, seeing that the Wabungu obtain all their iron wares from Ukimbu (north of Lake Rukwa). Baumann has sent me a sketch of the objects as they were seen by Glauning, which is here reproduced (fig. 29. By "wiederholt" is meant that G. did not trouble to make a complete sketch of more than one of the objects surrounding the spear). At a later date Fülleborn visited the place but did not see the grave.⁵⁴ He says, however, that the iron objects about the spear resemble pieces of iron from Ufipa, which he has seen in the Berlin Museum.

85. H. Baumann has further told me that in Ulanda (Uvanda) — a district on the western shore of Lake Rukwa — Glauning saw a

door-carving showing symbols of the sultan's dignity, among them a bident of which he sent me a drawing (fig. 30 a).

The instances I have here adduced from Tanganyika Territory are not very many, but they go to show that bidents, etc., as symbols of dignity probably occur in many other localities within that region. The natives are much given to keeping their sacred objects secret from Europeans.

86. In Northern Nyasaland, the Nkamanga Plains, there is a dynasty deriving their origin from an immigrant named Mlovoka. "Tradition has it", Cullen Young writes,⁵⁵ "that Mlovoka and his party came 'as Arabs', which is to say that, not being genuine Arabs, they had an Arab appearance from their methods of dress and trading purpose". From the grave of Mlovoka have come fragments of Chinese pottery of the 16th or 17th Century (from the Bazaar at Zansibar, or Kilwa) as well as an iron object (Young, fig. 1). The latter bears a certain resemblance to a multi-branched candlestick, and, as regards the disposal of its details, recalls in some degree the objects described above from the Wabena. An additional example of the same type, but longer ("just under four feet"), Young acquired from a member of "the original Mlovoka family". Of these iron objects he says that they were "associated with kingship," that "they bear no relation whatever to any existing or remembered form of ironwork indigenous to the area", and that "they create as much surprise when exhibited to the people to-day as they do to the European". In "Man" 1932 (103), Young says that his later investigations "have gone to prove that the immigrant people with whom these tridents are associated were certainly of Western origin, and that their Arab appearance was nothing more than an adaptation of the Arab mode of wearing clothes". That the immigration referred to took place from the west is very probable, but I am entirely unable to follow Young when he suggests that the "tridents" in question are connected with immigration from the region of the Shari River and Lake Chad. We need not, as I think I shall be able to show below (par. 88), go farther than the Baluba country in order to find their counterparts.

87. Similar objects also appear to have existed among the Yao. Cullen Young (Man, 1929) mentions that "an intelligent Yao of about 40 years of age", who was shown one of the objects referred to under par. 86 above, said "that his old mother once told him that

their ancient chiefs had always in their possession an 'iron thing of branches ending in arrow-tips, which was never seen by common people but went where the chief went', concealed securely in a mat''. Cf. how among the Shilluk the sacred spear was wrapped inside a mat because it must not be exposed to the sun.

88. Babemba, of N. E. Rhodesia; 89. Baunga; 90. Babisa, of Lake Bangweolo. From these peoples Dr. Richards describes ancient objects of iron closely resembling those mentioned above from the Nkamanga plains of Northern Nyasaland as well as those from Ubungu (Lake Rukwa).⁵⁶ They are definitely regarded as sacred relics, handed down to the successors to certain chieftainships or priestly offices. Among the Babemba Richards found them kept in the relic houses of chiefs (cf. No. 82) or in possession of certain hereditary councillors, among the Babisa and Baunga on the graves or beneath the sacred burial-trees of chiefs (cf. No. 84). In all the three tribes mentioned the natives declare emphatically that the objects came from the Baluba country. According to Richards they were used as bow-and-arrow stands. "Among these peoples the bow is an hereditary object... It is the symbol *par excellence* of succession to the office, either of chieftainship or of hereditary councillorship".

I think I have shown that Richard's native informants most probably were correct when they stated that the objects in question originate from the Baluba country. For particulars I refer the reader to Man, 1936.⁵⁷ Here it may only be added that in the Bangweolo region an intermingling of cultures has taken place, and that at all events its material culture largely appears to constitute an intermediate link between the Zambesi region and the southern portion of the Congo basin, and in respect of the latter not least with the Baluba.

Since writing the above I have read Brelsford's article on these iron objects among the Babemba.⁵⁸ "There are", B. writes, "eight of them in existence and use among the Bemba and they are known as *kapanda ka buta* (the forked rest for a bow). Chitimukulu, the paramount chief, has two, Mwamba, his brother and next highest chief, also two; Chiefs Nkula, Nkolemfumu and Munkonge have one each; and Chimba, the head *Bakabilo* or Councillor, also one." B. gives a photograph of a typical example, that one belonging to the chief Munkonge, with bow and arrows resting in it. Its height is about

30 inches. The number of prongs varies. "Their traditional origin goes back to the days of the great Cazembe. He was responsible for making them, probably early in the 18th century in what is now the Kawambwa district of Northern Rhodesia, and they have been handed down from chief to chief since then. The six Bemba chiefs mentioned are now the only people qualified to own them, but it is impossible to say how many were originally made or what connection they had with the Northern Nyasaland tridents . . . Bemba Chiefs who own them must not put their bows and arrows anywhere else except in the *Kapanda*, which leans against the side of the hut or is stuck upright in the ground. I am informed that Chimba, the head councillor, has not the right to stand his upright or carry it about, but that it must always be kept in his small spirit (*Mipashi*) hut.⁵⁸

91. In about 1912-13 Lieut. Col. Stephenson, near Mkushi, just east of Broken Hill — that is to say not so very far south of the Babisa — observed an object which, so far as he can remember, was "exactly similar" to those obtained by Young (par. 86), which S. had seen. The object in question was planted on a grave which obviously was comparatively old, and belonged to a person of importance, as could be inferred from the presence of other grave furniture (a number of decayed elephant tusks, etc.).⁵⁹

92. East Luangwa Province, N. Rhodesia. Here Gordon Lancaster acquired a spear which is a sort of trident, even though the two lateral points be very small (fig. 30 c). The blade is 15 inches long, and the shaft — of polished ebony — 21 inches, the latter at each end being bound with iron, and fitted with a 5-inch iron pick socketed into its lower end. Nothing seems to be known of its origin (Man 1934, 209, photograph). As regards the shape of the point, cf. Barotse (par. 95).

93. Among the Batoka (Batonga), Kalomo District, N. Rhodesia, Gordon Lancaster found the trident fig. 30 b. He acquired it from an old native who had had it for years, and had received it from another native. "All that he knew was that in the old days he had heard that the 'Big Ones' only were allowed to carry these tridents. Also, that it was not of native workmanship, of the Tonga tribe" (Man 1934, 209, photograph). The middle blade is 19 inches long, and the shaft of wild ebony, carved in sections.

94. In the Lomagundi district of Southern Rhodesia — about 60 to

80 miles N. W. of Salisbury — are found the Baka Chimombe who are the remnants of the Chimombe people in these parts (the main body having moved to Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa). From them Nicolle describes an "idol" of crude iron work, called Chimombe.⁶⁰ His photographs of it show an iron rod, forked at the top, of a type similar to the right-hand one of the two that Young depicts from Northern Nyasaland (Man 147) and to the one mentioned by Stephenson from Broken Hill. "Chimombe, the idol, is God (*mudzimu*) and Chief in one, and is very highly respected even by people of other tribes." His guardian is chief Chiundu, and it is at his kraal on the Chiwore River that Chimombe resides. "The Chimombe ceremony is held once a year, usually in November, soon after the planting of the crops: it is considered that Chimombe should give the seed his blessing". He also brings rain. Nicolle had an opportunity of being present at a ceremony of this kind which was conducted by the High Priest, after consulting the chief. For further particulars the reader is referred to Nicolle's article, while here I only wish to mention — by reason of its correspondence with the Broken Hill instance — that when the Chimombe had been taken out of its hut and placed on a reed mat, tusks of elephant and hippo were lined up on either side of the "god". Very few Europeans have set eyes on the Chimombe.⁶⁰

95. Barotse. As regards this tribe Dr. Jensen writes: "Die Speere des Königs heissen Ngwesi und werden unter einem kleinen Schuttdach im engeren Königshof aufbewahrt. Niemand im Volke darf diese Form benutzen (sie ist durch zwei zackenförmige Ansätze unter der Spitze gekennzeichnet). Sie kommen nur im Kriege oder bei königlichen Jagden in Gebrauch."⁶¹ (Cf. nr. 55).

96. At Zimbabwe Miss Caton-Thompson discovered a tanged spearhead that appears to fall within the scope of the present study (fig. 30 d). It was a surface find in the "Acropolis", about 13 inches long.⁶² She refers to an earlier find of similar type, Willoughby having mentioned a "curious three-pronged assegai" at a depth of 7 feet on the bedrock.⁶³

97. In my paper in SF (p. 172, Pl. XVI), I dealt with a bident and a trident in the Lateran Museum under the heading of "undefined locality", although they are expressly stated to originate from a definite locality, viz. Aliwal North, on the upper reaches of the Orange

River (southwest of Basutoland). According to a statement given me by Father Schulien, who has placed a photograph of these objects at my disposal, they had been used as chiefs' sceptres. In both cases their appearance was so little South African that I concluded that the statement as to their origin must be erroneous, an opinion also shared by Seligman. At that time, however, I had no evidence proving the occurrence of this type of spear in eastern Africa south of the Lake Victoria region. Having now again before us statements that they have been traced as far south as several places in Rhodesia, I am no longer entirely sceptical as regards the above-mentioned locality being given as "Aliwal North". It is certainly true that the shape of the spearheads in question is of a very unusual character, but, judging from the photograph sent me by Father Schulien, their shafting, being by means of a tang, must for that reason be put down as "South African". The photograph does not show the lower part of the handle, and therefore I am unable to describe its appearance.

While still on the subject of South Africa, in the present connection may as well be mentioned the Zulu "spear" depicted in fig. 31, which Professor Cipriani has been kind enough to send me. He writes me (27.2. 1932): "You certainly know that the Zulus have a kind of spear with a point shaped as a crescent. I photographed and collected in 1927 some of these spears but unfortunately the collection went lost. Among the Zulus these spears are marks of authority, not for chiefs but for the *induna* (a kind of under-chiefs) who are always very old men". The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, possesses a spear of this type (No. 07.25.11) collected by a Swedish Missionary of the Ekutuleni mission station in Zululand. He gives its name as *itata*, and states that it was "only carried by the king and men of authority".

Again we turn to the north, to sections of West Africa not dealt with in the foregoing.

98. From the Baluba, Johnston depicts a wooden staff of office of the chief Kayumba, Lake Kasale, N. Katanga country, collected by Torday.⁶⁴ Its upper part is shaped into a trident (fig. 32). A nearly identical type is represented in the Cologne Museum (no. 16364), there labelled "fetish sceptre", from the Waruwa (an appellation which, according to Maes, is more correct than that of "Warua",

hitherto used), a section of the Baluba people (99). The Cologne specimen is slightly different from that brought home by Torday, and this mainly in the shape of the prongs of the trident, and in that the butt end of the figure terminates in an iron spike, probably for thrusting it into the ground.⁶⁵ (Cf. nr. 100).

The Baluba also possess (or, according to Colle, at any rate possessed 20 years ago) bow-and-arrow-stands — or weapon-stands, generally speaking — driven into the floor of the hut, or stuck into the wall inside it. Of these Colle illustrates two kinds. One of them is carved in wood, showing at the upper end a human head with three protuberances on its crown. The other group is of iron, and of these Colle depicts two types, of which at any rate one may be described as tree-like.⁶⁶ Having (after Colle) reproduced these objects in "Man" (February 1936, 49), I see no purpose in again depicting them here. As regards the employment of these weapon-stands Colle makes no distinction between chiefs, etc., and commoners, but without further comment includes them among "meubles et objets meublants" found in the Baluba huts.

100. From the Baholoholo (original name Baguha), living N. E. of the Waruwa and west of Lake Tanganyika, the Berlin Museum possesses two bow-stands carved in wood, each showing a female figure topped by a trident. One of these in particular bears great resemblance to the two mentioned under 98 from the Baluba and the Waruwa, respectively.⁶⁷ Cameron has drawings of two bow-stands of similar type from the Baguha.⁶⁸ For having had my attention drawn to these instances I am indebted to S. Lagercrantz. It is open to question whether the two objects referred to under 98 and 99, the "chief's staff of office" from the Baluba and the "fetish sceptre" from the Waruwa, may not also be bow-stands, especially as similar objects are known from the Baluba.

101. In this connection I also wish to recall the peculiar iron "sceptre" bifurcated at the top (called *Dikonga dia difuma*), now preserved in the Berlin Museum, that Wissmann took from the Bashilange (Mena Lulua, a branch of the Baluba) chief Mana Katembe. This object, according to Wissmann, the said chief had inherited from his ancestors, and only one more of its kind was said to exist among the Baluba.⁶⁹

102. From the Batshioko (Kioko, Tsokwe) Baumann mentions as

an emblem of the operator at the circumcision rites a bifurcate pole, on one point of which is set the head of a cock, the sacred animal of circumcision and other puberty rites. This emblematic pole is in fact often seen in the character of an official sign planted in front of the operator's hut in the village. "Der Pfahl trägt an einer Stelle eine Umwicklung aus Rindenbast, eine sicher magische Betonung, die wir an den Ahnenbäumen (*miombo*), den *ngombo*-Pfählen und vielen anderen Pfählen und Posten wiederfinden".⁷⁰

Wissmann has a picture showing a village of the Mashinshe (Chinge). On the open village square a row of forked sticks are seen planted in the ground. No explanation of this is given by W. in the letter-press.⁷¹ The Mashinshe occupy the right-hand bank of the upper reaches of the Kuango river. Their next neighbours in the east are the Batshioko.

103. Dr. Palmaer, physician to the Swedish Missionary Association in the Congo, tells me that among the Bakete he saw a chief carrying a forked and sculptured staff (c. 1.5 m. long) as a symbol of his authority. The Bakete are located north of Luebo on the Lulua River, and have been influenced by their neighbours, the Bakuba.

104. High court functionaries with the Paramount Chief of the Bakuba carry among other insignia of rank "des cannes particulières . . . chacune de ces cannes est garnie à son extrémité de quatre pointes de fer" (SF, fig. 32. Cf. *E. Torday*, *On the trail of the Bushongo*, fig. 7, p. 154. London 1935).

105. The Bankutu (Bankutshu, Bakutu), on the upper reaches of the Lukenye River, have a kind of peculiar throwing spear with four or five iron points which is used in hunting (SF, fig. 33).

106. The natives of the area surrounding Lake Leopold II use spears with one to three points as insignia of rank. SF, fig. 30, shows a Tumba chief, carrying a double-bladed spear; vide also SF, fig. 31.

107. Among the Boloki (Bangala) a forked stick (*mutumu*) is carried by a man who has had rheumatism as a charm against the return of the complaint; but if the stick is touched by anyone else, or broken, the man will have a serious relapse.⁷²

108. The Sango, on the Ubangi. In answer to a question I put to Professor J. Maes relating to the presence of multi-bladed spears in the Musée du Congo Belge, Dr. O. Boone, in the temporary absence

of Prof. Maes, was kind enough to send me the photograph of a bident from the Sango (fig. 33. No. 10731). Its native name is *tuki*, and it appears to be a war weapon ("arme terrible").

The Hamburg Museum possesses the trident, fig. 36, to which no information is appended beyond the legend "Ubangi?". In order to obtain further particulars about it I wrote to Prof. Maes, but as he was away at the time, Dr. Boone kindly sent me a photograph of a similar trident found in the Musée du Congo Belge (No. 31078, fig. 33). No information as to provenance is unfortunately given, only that it is an "insigne de dignité".

Società Geografica in Rome possesses a trident (No. 419) about which Professor Boccassino, to whom I am indebted for a photograph of it (fig. 37), could find no information other than that it forms part of a collection from the Congo. This seems however, to be rather doubtful. Flattened, spatulate, iron "ferrules" occur on spears from the interior of the Congo (cf. *Schmeltz* and *de Josselin de Jong*, *Ethnographisch Album*, etc., Pls. 134—139. Haag 1904—1906), but they all appear to be provided with a socket into which the spear-handle is fixed, while the spear we are here concerned with is tanged, like the spears of the Zambesi region and south of it. With certainty referable to the Congo, although I have not succeeded in determining to what particular tribes, are on the other hand the bidents, SF, figs. 28 and 29, belonging to the Stockholm Museum and The Swedish Missionary Association (Svenska Missionsförbundet), respectively.

Ancient Egypt.

109. In ancient Egypt, as is stated by Wiedemann, occasionally the beggar — and also the dead — used a forked stick, "wenn er durch Bezeigung seiner Unterwürfigkeit und Hilfsbedürftigkeit die Gunst der Jenseitsdämonen zu gewinnen trachtete".⁷³ Although already pointed out by me in my earlier essay, it may be added that Newberry points out that the hieroglyph "harpoon" (bident) occurs as a ritual element on painted earthenware vessels in prehistoric graves between Cairo and Koshtamne, and that it has prevailed into historic time as a ritual object among the population on Lake Mareotis. The harpoon, Newberry further maintains, is the prototype of the bident and, later in time, of the trident pertaining to the Libyan god Poseidon.⁷⁴

Madagascar.

And lastly, if we turn to Madagascar, we find — at any rate in the western portions — that spears with more than one point were formerly used as symbols of dignity.

110. Among the royal relics pertaining to the Sakalawa of Bueni, there are, *inter alia*, four tridents.⁷⁵

111. The Stockholm Museum possesses a double-bladed spear from Tulear, on the south-western coast, that is to say from the Sakalawa of the farthest south (SF, fig. 40). When spears of this type were in use they constituted an exclusively royal prerogative.

In regarding to the Hova I have not succeeded in unearthing any information bearing on our subject, but I am nevertheless of opinion that we ought not to lose sight of the possibility that these multiple-bladed spears of Madagascar may belong to the Malayan (or Indian?) culture elements that are found there. In Indonesia are found spears with 3—5 points and they there seem to be very prevalent (Vide SF, p. 176).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As will be apparent from the material here presented, with special regard to the illustrations (together with those in SF amounting to the not inconsiderable number of 75), it does not seem possible from the *shape* and general appearance of the spears — or staves — to divide them into geographical groups in Africa. It is true that in my earlier essay I have in regard to spears with equal-sized points in parallel arrangement — having their blades set side by side (flat planes parallel) — said that their distribution "appears to be of a central, and comparatively concentrated character, and I do not know of its occurrence in Africa west of Lake Chad, and in North-East" (SF, p. 178), but this no longer applies since we have now seen that this type is also found in Abyssinia and Somaliland (figs. 19, 24).

As regards the *employment* of African multi-pronged spears it is only in three cases that I have definite information of their being used as weapons of war, viz. among the Ibo, the horse soldiers of Bagirmi, and the "southern Bari" (par. 48). With this may perhaps also be included their employment at the courts of Abyssinian princes (par. 65) and by the Sango (108). The information regarding the royal spears among the Barotse as to their "only being used in war and at royal hunts" is too vague for allowing any definite conclusions to be made as to their use. Definite statements as to the employment of multi-pronged spears as weapons of the chase are at hand from the Moru (though in this case it should be noted that a "sultan's" hunting is referred to), from the Jimma, a Galla tribe in Abyssinia, and from the Bankutu, and of all these only the last-mentioned would appear fully authenticated.

Where *forked staves* are concerned I have — if their employment as bow-stands (pars. 33 and 76) and also the Abyssinian church-staves

for common people, mentioned in SF (p. 163) be disregarded — only come across one single instance of their being used for a *practical purpose*, viz. as supports for leaning on among the Dinka, Nuer, Bari and Shilluk, when standing on one leg. About certain forked staves, whether to be carried about or planted as poles in the ground, it is difficult to determine whether their purpose be anything more recon-
dite than that of merely serving as *supports* for some ritual or magical object placed in the fork, or for some object of that kind suspended from the fork (cf. Ashanti, Ibo, Unyoro, and Wanyamwezi).

Thus it will be seen that authenticated instances of purely practical employment of the above spears and staves are very few in number. The great majority of them are symbols of rank for kings, chiefs, priests, or other dignitaries. In particular they appear to occur in countries or among peoples where the principle of a ruling authority is well developed. In cases where these objects are carried by commoners, this is done by order of their master in token of their being his messengers or otherwise in his service. Occasionally the temporal and the spiritual authority are joined in the same person. (Habe, Eiap, Lala). Sometimes these objects are connected with the cult of ancestors. Frequently they are ancient and venerated family treasures, handed down as heirlooms from chief to chief. This seems especially to have been the case in the southern section of Tanganyika Territory and in the region between Lakes Tanganyika, Nyasa and Bangweolo (cf. pars. 82, 88—90). In this region spears or similar objects are frequently planted on, or by the side of, graves of chiefs or other notable persons (pars. 84, 86, 89—97). Of many of these it is further stated by the natives that the objects in question are of foreign origin (pars. 84, 86, 88—90, 93; Baluba influence?; cf. also par. 81).

As regards the employment of these bidents and forked staves it is further to be noted that they, especially in West Africa, in many places are cult objects, or emblems of deities. Frequently they appear to be connected with fertility rites (cf. pars. 25, 27, 29, 35, 57). Among "rain-spears" and other sacred spears in the White Nile region and south of it (Bari, Lotuko-speaking tribes, Acholi, Uganda, cf. also Hausa) bidents, etc., occur. In isolated instances these spears and staves perhaps are symbols of lightning (Jewe as the lightning-god among the Ewe) or of the deities of the ocean, the rivers, or of fishing (the goddess Osun among the Yoruba, the spirits Sarikin

Rafi and Sarikin Masu of the Hausa, the Makundushi people of Zanzibar). In the latter cases their use is perhaps founded on that of the fish-gig. As regards the Makundushi there should perhaps be taken into account the possibility of their trident dating back to Greek influence (Poseidon)? In one case (the nomadic Fulani of N. Nigeria) is mentioned a forked stick used for the "protection of encampments", and in another (Bangala) as a charm against the return of rheumatism.

Altogether divergent from, in fact quite contrary to, the employment of forked staves that we have made the acquaintance of in the foregoing appears the statement that in ancient Egypt they were used by beggars and by the dead. But the disagreement may perhaps only be apparent. Perhaps the staff possessed some power protective of its bearer. For the sake of completeness it may however here be added what de Waele says of these staves: "To explain the beggar's staff with its fork-shaped top, we must give attention to the hieroglyph, representing a man, who raises and stretches both his arms out, and is the very image of the forked staff. The meaning of the hieroglyph is the verb 'to invoke'. If we now give attention to the close connection there is between writing, pictography and the things of real life, it is very probable that the forked staff of the beggar had the concrete meaning of begging or imploring."⁶

Before proceeding any further, something might also be said of the *weapon-stands*, the stands for bows and arrows, and for spears. Strictly speaking they may perhaps not fall within the scope of this investigation, but I have happened upon them through their occurrences in a forked form, and I have found it tempting to follow them up also in their other forms. Apart from anything else, I think the map, fig. 34, will fairly completely record the instance of weapon-stands that are known from Africa. These stands correspond besides with the spears and staves we have here been concerned with inasmuch as in most cases they appear to have been used only by chiefs or notable persons. There is probably some connection between the stands for bows and arrows found among the Babemba, Baunga and Chimombe, and as I have shown above, at any rate parts of them have come from the Baluba. Very similar to these stands are the strange-looking iron objects in Ubungu, among the Yao, and those in northern Nyasaland (Tumbuka, Henga), and most probably they served the

same purpose, and may also be supposed to have originated from the Baluba. This opinion I also find expressed in a work by Schilde, which he has recently been kind enough to send me, and in which he stresses that the Tanganyika-Nyasa line in no way constitutes a cultural boundary.⁷⁷

To recur to the multi-pointed spears and the forked staves what is then their essential *significance*? What conceptions are at the back of their employment? To this question, strangely enough, no answer is given by a single one of the authors that mention their occurrence, nor in the museum catalogues.⁷⁸ The only information I have is Monsignore Campling's statement to Schulien regarding the double-bladed spear of the Uganda king: He is supposed to possess supernatural power and therefore to fight as though he possessed a double spear, meaning double force. In the same way the high-priests in Uganda used such spears as a sign of their supernatural power. A statement that may be worth noting is given as regards the sacred spears in Uha, Tanganyika (from where I do not however know any bidents, etc.), namely that in them "the whole strength of the tribe is typified" (Man 1935, 54).⁷⁹ The only thing that for the present I am prepared to say with certainty is that a great deal of symbolism and magic is embodied in these spears and staves, which, however, need not everywhere be the case. In certain places they perhaps symbolize trees (fertility), in others animal horns (defensive power). In certain cases even the magic significance of numbers may be taken into account. Occasionally the explanation may perhaps simply be that it is considered more "classy" for a ruler to have for his emblem a bident or a trident instead of an ordinary spear, and that therefore the multi-pointed spear is nothing but a decorative variant of the ordinary spear.

We then pass on to the inevitable question as to whether there be any connection between these multiple-bladed spears and forked staves in Africa, especially as regards those which are symbols of rank and authority. If we consult the two maps (figs. 34-35) I think we may safely say that connection exists at any rate between certain sections of the wide area of distribution: the realms of Abyssinia and the Bahima appear to form one group, to which perhaps also should be added the White Nile region, while the kingdoms surrounding Lake Chad form a second group, and a third is formed by the Baluba and

peoples influenced by them. But even this system of groups appears to connect so well internally that I do not think it too rash to suppose a common bond throughout all Africa. And, as in my earlier essay, I still am of opinion that the distribution took place through the agency of the "Hamites", along the ancient migration routes, through the Sudan (probably in an east-to-west direction) and through the region of the great lakes (from north to south).⁸⁰

Possibly account might be taken of Nilotic peoples, but it does not seem to me very probable that their influence ever extended over such a vast area as the one we are here concerned with. It is true that many remarkable points of correspondence are found between Nilotic and South African peoples (Zulu), but from South Africa in particular my information as to multi-pointed spears is exceedingly scanty. Apart from this the Zulus, as well as other South African peoples, show, as we know, also cultural correspondence with the "Hamites", and in many cases it may well be supposed that their points of correspondence with Nilotic peoples refer back to a common "Hamitic" source. This is however not the place for discussing these difficult questions. Even as regards the Baluba, "Hamitic" influence may well be supposed.

With regard to the Semitic peoples in Africa, and their religion, we have before us certain instances which — it must be admitted — appear to connect spears, or staves, with Mohammedanism (pars. 1, 60, 67). But as actual proof I am not prepared to accept them, and among the Mohammedans of Arabia I have not been able to find any objects of this class. Such an experienced specialist in Arab culture in western Sudan as Palmer says of the tridents that he found in Gambia and Bornu that the factor which might account for them "is hardly likely to have been the Arab of historic time. On the other hand a pre-Arab Hamitic or Chushite origin of the 'trident' is a possible explanation" (Man 1932, 47)⁸¹. A similar opinion is held by Rodd, who in connection with Palmer's article writes: "I agree that we must look for a pre-Moslem and, perhaps, definitely non-Semitic origin for the trident or triform ornament in northern Equatorial Africa" (Man 1932, 162).

By way of showing that I have not overlooked yet another possibility as regards southeastern Congo and Rhodesia, I may recall the cultural connection between these territories and India to which atten-

tion has been drawn by Frobenius and Baumann. In India, too, we know that multi-pronged spears, etc., are found. In consideration of the extensive and connected distribution of these objects in Africa, it does not, however, appear to me necessary to suppose any Indian influence where the area just referred to is concerned.

If we further glance at ancient Italy and Greece we there find the trident of Neptune, which I have already referred to in my earlier essay (p. 177). But there were also forked staves. The *kerukcion-caduceus*, the staff of Hermes-Mercury, the messenger of the gods, at times occurred (probably the original type) in plain bident form, or in the shape of a wand with a triple shoot. Of points of contact with Africa there are several: the forked staff as a symbol of power and authority and as an emblem of messengers and heralds (de Waele, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 39). In case Hermes among the early Greeks was a demon of fertility, yet another link with Africa is established. But — even with due consideration given to the astonishingly great correspondence that especially Frobenius has shown to exist between Nigeria and the ancient Mediterranean civilizations — such points of correspondence will, I think, hardly suffice for proving any connection with the African forked staves.

To the above I wish to add an ancient spear-head from Cyprus, to which my attention has been drawn by S. Lagercrantz. It was collected by the Swedish archaeological expedition to Cyprus, and Dr. A. Westholm has kindly given me the following particulars about it, excerpted from his work which is now in the press: "Large spear-head of iron, split up into four portions; tubular socket pierced by rivets of which two are preserved; the socket ends with a ring-shaped flat mounting of bronze; at the joint between the split up portion and the socket, a moulded, ring-shaped mounting is placed. Length 41.0 cm."⁸² I am informed by Dr. W. that the spear-head in question was recovered, "along with other fragmentary weapons, in a treasure-house belonging to the temple dedicated to Athena, on the mountain of Vouni. Both the temple and the treasure-houses remained standing during the latter half of the 3rd century B. C., which therefore may be supposed to provide correct dating for the spear-head." I have no knowledge of any counterpart of this object, but as regards the disposition of its points it undeniably presents a certain resemblance to the wooden symbol of rank for high functionaries at the

court of the paramount chief of the Bushongo (Bakuba), of which Torday & Joyce publish a drawing in "Notes ethnographiques . . . Bakuba . . . Bushongo", fig. 45, Bruxelles 1910 (reproduced in SF, fig. 32).

As regards *Asia* I have in my earlier essay adduced a number of instances: from ancient times of bidents and tridents as symbols of lightning in Sabeian and Minean inscriptions; the trident of the thunder-god of the Hittites and of Assyrian gods; the *trisula* of the Indian god Siva; the trident as a common emblem, denoting empire, on ancient Indian coins and seals; and from modern times of small Indian *trisulas*, presumably connected with thunder or lightning; multi-bladed spears from Indonesia as emblems of exalted rank; large iron tridents as symbols of kingly power in Korea, etc. To these some further instances may be added. The Artillery Museum in Paris possesses an Indian bident of iron from the 6th century (*Demmin, Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 149, fig. Gera 1891). From the Gonds of our days the Stockholm Museum possesses a *tirsul*, an iron trident about 0.5 m. in length (No 07. 34. 193), collected by the missionary F. Johansson from the Gonds of Bijori, Chindwara District, C. P., India. No particulars are given about it other than its being a "god". Of a bident from the Chin Hills, some distance south of the Naga Hills (cf. note 78), E. E. Evans-Pritchard has been kind enough to send me a drawing. The spear in question is found in a private collection in Dorsetshire, England, and shows two rhomboidal blades set side by side (not parallel), each with two small barbs oppositely disposed at the base. The shaft is bound in red velvet. The spear is a ceremonial one. It was given to Lt. Col. Macnabb while he was pacifying the hills.

From the Key Islands may perhaps also be mentioned a sort of large, five-pointed fork, consisting of a bamboo staff, pointed at its upper end on which is set a cross-piece made from the marrow of the sago palm, into which five upright, sharp-pointed slivers of bamboo have been inserted. This object is supposed to protect coco-nuts from thieves (*F. Burger, Die Völkerkundlichen Sammlungen von den Kei-Inseln. XXX—XLV. Jahresbericht d. Württemberg. Vereins f. Handelsgeographie etc. Stuttgart 1927, p. 61, Taf. VII: 2*).

I also wish to draw attention to the three-pointed iron staff used by Siberian shamans, at any rate among the Yeniseians. It is said to

symbolize the shaman tree (*G. Nioradze*, *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern*, p. 78, fig. 34, Stuttgart 1925). In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford I have seen a shaman's iron trident from the Samoyedic Ostiaks (between Yenisei and Obi) belonging to the Czaplicka collection. In the said museum there is an additional bident from Siberia. I have no doubt that Russian museums possess abundant material of this kind.

I know of no instances from America, nor from the South Sea, apart from a brief notice regarding a sort of trident in the Gilbert Islands, used as a "Hoheitszeichen" (*Ethnol. Anzeiger*, III, p. 144, fig. 1. Stuttgart 1932—1935).

My two essays give scattered instances of bidents and tridents, etc., from ancient and modern times, from Asia — East to West — and also from Siberia. Closer investigation might perhaps, as in the case of Africa, reveal the existence of a fairly connected area of distribution. For the present it appears to me, however — perhaps with an exception made for the trident of Neptune-Poseidon — that it would be premature to suppose any connection between the occurrence of these objects in Africa, in the Greco-Roman antiquity and in Asia.

NOTES.

- ¹ K. G. Lindblom, Spears with two or more heads, particularly in Africa. In "Essays presented to C. G. Seligman". 32 pp., 41 figs., XI Pl. London 1934.
- ² In my earlier paper I also gave some attention to the occurrence of these spears in Asia and Europe.
- ³ F. Rodd, People of the veil. p. 277, Pl. 36. London 1926.
- ⁴ H. R. Palmer, "Trident" scepters from West Africa. *Man* 1932, 47, with photo.
- ⁵ H. A. Bernatzik, Äthiopien des Westens, I p. 228, fig. 57. Wien 1933.
- ⁶ P. Germann, Die Völkerstämme im Norden Liberias, Pl. VI. Leipzig 1933.
- ⁷ A. J. N. Tremearne, The Ban of the Bori, p. 472, note 8. London 1914. After F. Th. Elworthy, The evil eye, p. 215, fig. 88. London 1895.
- ⁸ R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, p. 142, fig. 52. Oxford 1923.
- ⁹ L. Frobenius, Atlantis, X, p. 161. Jena 1926.
- ¹⁰ F. von Luschan, Alterthümer von Benin, p. 444. Berlin 1919.
- ¹¹ K. Hagen, Alterthümer von Benin im Hamburg. Museum f. Völkerkunde, II. Mitteil. aus d. Mus. f. Völkerkunde in Hamburg, p. 79, Pl. X: 5. Hamburg 1918.
- ¹² C. W. Doetsch, Von Triton nach Atlantis. Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. Westaf. Ruderblattes. Petermanns Mitteil. 71, p. 208, T. XXI: 5. Gotha 1925.
- ¹³ Cf. J. Marquart, Die Benin-Sammlung d. Reichsmuseums f. Völkerkunde in Leiden, p. 175, Taf. IX. Leiden 1913.
- ¹⁴ E. A. Hooton, Benin antiquities in the Peabody Museum. Harvard Afr. Studies, I, p. 143, fig. 1. Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- ¹⁵ O. Bates and E. A. Hooton, On the origin of the double-bladed swords of the West Coast. Harvard Afr. Studies, II, p. 187.
- ¹⁶ P. A. Talbot, Some Nigerian fertility cults, p. 94, figs. 40—41. Oxford 1927.
- ¹⁷ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ¹⁸ F. Hutter, Wanderungen u. Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun. p. 430. Braunschweig 1902.
- ¹⁹ L. W. G. Malcolm, Notes on the ancestral cult ceremonies of the Ejap, Central Cameroons. Journ. Anthr. Inst. 1925, p. 401.
- ²⁰ F. Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun, III, p. 74. Hamburg 1919.
- ²¹ N. H. Brønnum, Under daemoners aag, p. 47. Köbenhavn 1926.
- ²² Ethel S. Fegan, Some notes on the Bachama tribe. Journ. Afr. Soc. 1930, pp. 384, 382.
- ²³ J. Parkinson, Notes on the Asaba people (Ibo) of the Niger. 1906, p. 317. Journ. Anthr. Inst. Cf. S. Passarge, Adamaua, p. 497. Berlin 1895.
- ²⁴ J. H. Weeks, Among Congo Cannibals. Pl. p. 308. London 1913.
- ²⁵ R. Harris, Boanerges, p. 93. Cambridge 1913.
- ²⁶ Vicars Boyle, The Lala people. Journ. Afr. Soc. 1915, p. 63.
- ²⁷ G. W. Webster, Customs and beliefs of the Fulani. *Man* 1931, 242.
- ²⁸ A. R. C. Bolton, The Dubab and Nuba of Jebel Daier. Sudan Notes and Records 1936: 1, p. 98, Pl. 1.
- ²⁹ Letters from L. Cipriani to G. Lindblom 29.8 and 13.10 1935.
- ³⁰ A. C. Beaton, Bari Studies, Sudan Notes and Records, 1932: 1, p. 88. Plates

VIII, IX, XI. C. G. Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, fig. 20, p. 293, London 1932.

³¹ About the *matat* and the *bunit* vide Seligman, Pagan Tribes, pp. 247 sq.

³² Seligman, The Bari. Journ. Anthr. Inst. 1922, and Pagan Tribes, p. 287 sq.

³³ Seligman, Pagan Tribes, p. 341.

³⁴ Seligman, Pagan Tribes, pp. 288, 330 sq., fig. 21. Vide also SF, fig. 17.

³⁵ Seligman, Pagan Tribes, p. 129.

³⁶ G. L. Elliot Smith, Spear-rest and other tribal heirlooms. Man, 1935, 106.

³⁷ J. Flamme, Dans la Belgique Africaine, p. 187. Bruxelles 1908.

³⁸ W. Hirschberg, Aus d. völkerkundl. Sammlung d. Museums d. Siebenbürg. Vereins f. Naturwissenschaften in Hermannstadt. Die "Djur" in der Sammlung Franz Binder. Verhandl. u. Mitteil. d. Siebenbürg. Vereins f. Naturwissenschaften. 1935, p. 31.

³⁹ Daigre, Les Bandas de l'Oubangui-Chari. Anthropos 1931, p. 688.

⁴⁰ A. J. Arkell, Fung origins. Sudan Notes and Records, 1932, p. 241, Plates VII, XII.

⁴¹ G. K. Rein, Abessinien, III, p. 259, Pl. XIX. Berlin 1920.

⁴² E. F. Rohrer, Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. materiellen Kultur d. Amhara, p. 127. Bern 1932.

⁴³ L. M. Nesbitt, Hell-hole of creation. The exploration of Abyssinian Danakil. (Index). N. York 1935.

⁴⁴ J. Roscoe, The Bakitara or Banyoro, pp. 109, 137, 146. Cambridge 1923.

⁴⁵ J. Roscoe, The soul of Central Africa, p. 210. London 1922.

⁴⁶ Although spiral-twisted spear-handles do not directly belong to the subject of the present paper, I wish to take this opportunity of making an attempt at explaining their significance. The Wanyamwezi possess spears, or more properly staves, wholly made of iron and with a portion of the handle spiral-twisted (8 spiral turns). According to Blohm, the spirals signify that the spear is "consecrated to the ancestors. Its being wholly of iron indicates that it belongs to votaries of the *migawo*" (water demons). W. Blohm, Die Nyamwezi, p. 186. Pl. XIV. Hamburg 1933.

⁴⁷ What sort of deity *Lubare* might be I do not know. On this point I have been unable to find any information in Roscoe's works.

⁴⁸ Emin Pascha, Die Tagebücher. Hrsg. von F. Stuhlmann, I, p. 404. Hamburg 1917.

⁴⁹ H. Meyer, Die Barundi, p. 134. Leipzig 1916.

⁵⁰ P. Kollmann, The Victoria Nyanza, p. 18. London 1899.

⁵¹ O. Dampwolff, Die Sandawe, p. 75, fig. 7. Hamburg 1916.

⁵² P. F. Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, pp. 109 sq., figs 72—74. Münster i. W. 1930.

⁵³ A. T. and G. M. Culwick, Tribal heirlooms of the Wabena. Man, 1934, 188; 1935, 105. Ukena of the Rivers, p. 110, fig. I. London 1935.

⁵⁴ F. Fülleborn, Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet, p. 498. Berlin 1906. Glauning, Bericht d. Oberleutnants G. ü. d. Fortschritte d. Pendelexpedition. Mitteilungen a. d. Schutzgebieten 1899, p. 232.

⁵⁵ T. Cullen Young, A note on iron objects of unknown origin from N. Nyasaland. Man 1929, 147. Cf. Man 1930, 56, and Journal Anthropol. Inst. 1933, p. 10. To Cullen Young's work "Notes on the speech and history of the Tumbuka-Henga peoples" (published locally 1923) I have no access.

⁵⁶ A. I. Richards, Bow-stand or trident? Man 1935, 32, fig. 1.

⁵⁷ G. Lindblom, Bow-stand or Trident. Man 1936, 49. Cf. also T. Cullen Young, Bow-stand or Trident? Man 1935, 87.

⁵⁸ V. Brelsford, The Bemba tridents. Nada, No. 13, p. 18. Salisbury, Rhodesia 1935.

⁵⁹ Man 1930, 56.

⁶⁰ W. H. H. Nicolle, A few notes on Baka Chimombe. Nada, No. 14, p. 26, figs. Salisbury 1936.

⁶¹ *A. E. Jensen*, Die staatliche Organisation u. die histor. Ueberlieferungen der Barotse am oberen Zambesi. Linden-Museum, Jahresbericht 1931—32, p. 92. Stuttgart 1932.

⁶² *G. Caton-Thompson*, The Zimbabwe Culture, p. 84, fig. 12. Oxford 1932.

⁶³ *J. Willoughby*, Further examinations at Zimbabwe, p. 18. 1893. This work I have not accessible.

⁶⁴ *H. Johnston*, George Grenfell and the Congo, p. 698, fig. 372. London 1908.

⁶⁵ *F. Graebner u. J. Lips*, Führer durch d. Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, fig., p. 162. Köln. 1927.

⁶⁶ *Colle*, Les Baluba, I, p. 167, II, Pl. IX: 11. Bruxelles 1913.

⁶⁷ Illustrated in *H. Ploss and M. Bartels*, Das Weib, II, figs. 487 and 589. Leipzig 1908. 9. ed.

⁶⁸ *W. L. Cameron*, Across Africa, I, p. 314. London 1877.

⁶⁹ *H. v. Wissmann*, Meine zweite Durchquerung Äquatorial-Afrikas, p. 245, fig. p. 248. Frankfurt a. O. 1890. The "sceptre" is also depicted in *Globus* 1889, p. 114, and in *F. Ratzel Völkerkunde*, I, p. 131. Leipzig 1894.

⁷⁰ *H. Baumann*, Lunda, p. 102. Berlin 1935. Also cf. Pl. 35, showing a ritual ground planted with sticks that are forked at the top.

⁷¹ *H. Wissman, L. Wolf etc.*, Im Inneren Afrikas, p. 40. Leipzig 1888.

⁷² *J. Weeks*, Among Congo cannibals, p. 309. London 1913.

⁷³ *A. Wiedemann*, Das alte Ägypten, p. 197. Heidelberg 1920.

⁷⁴ *P. E. Newberry*, Ägypten als Feld f. anthropolog. Forschung. Der alte Orient. XXVII, 20. Leipzig 1928.

⁷⁵ *A. van Gennep*, Tabous et totémisme du Madagascar, p. 93. Paris 1904.

⁷⁶ *F. J. M. de Waele*, The magic staff or rod in Graeco-Italian antiquity, p. 49. Gent 1927.

⁷⁷ *W. Schilde*, Beiträge z. Kulturgruppierung in Neger-Afrika. Tagungsbericht d. Ges. f. Völkerkunde. Leipzig 1936.

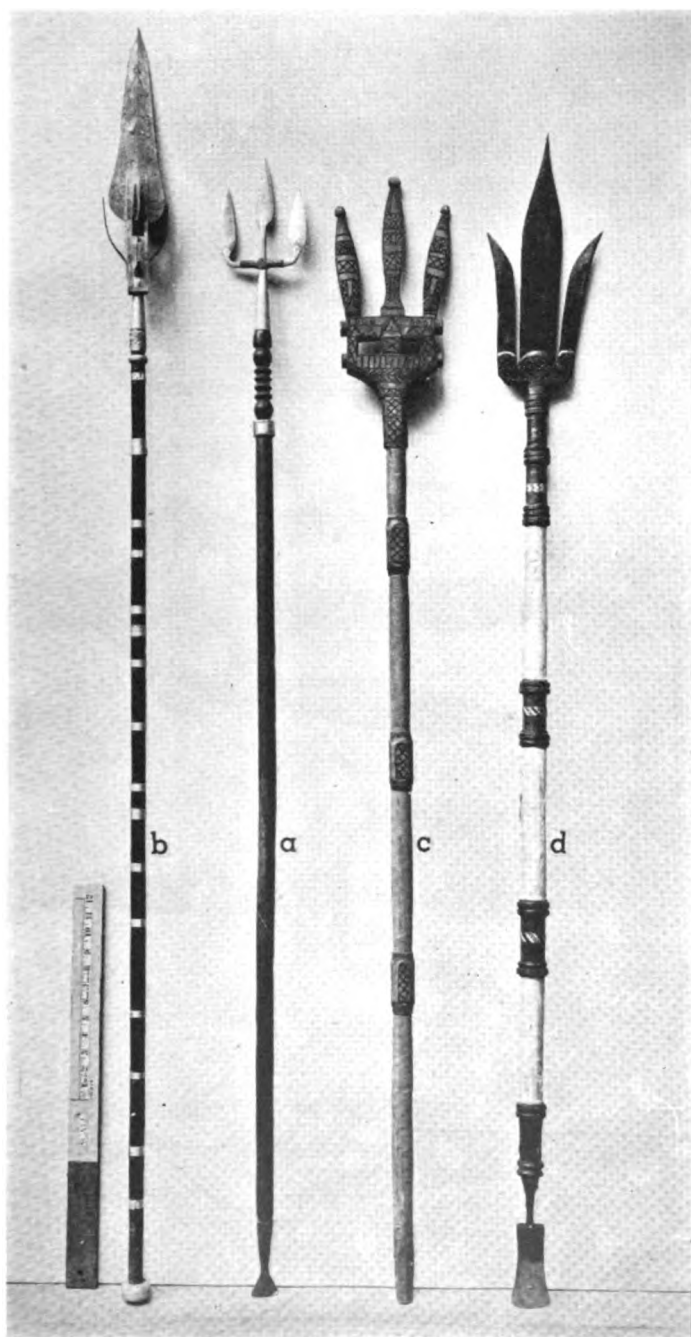
⁷⁸ To this there is an exception in the case of some bidents and tridents preserved in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, originating from the Konyak Naga (of the northeastern Naga Hills) collected by Hutton, and, although they come from India, the particulars accompanying them are so illustrative as to merit being here included: "The triple blade indicates the warlike prowess or social importance of the owner". I have scanned the works both of Hutton, Mills and Smith on different Naga tribes, but have been unable to find that spears of this type are even referred to.

⁷⁹ Sacred spears — rain-spears as well as others — occur among a great number of peoples of the White Nile region and further south. In some place or other they appear to be of foreign origin. Research into the types and distribution of these spears would no doubt be interesting. Anyone wishing to take up this study is, apart from Seligman's works, referred to Schilde's "Die afrikanischen Hoheitszeichen" (Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 61, p. 90).

⁸⁰ After my manuscript had gone to press, Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie 1936, 4—6 has been published, and there I find that *H. Baumann* (p. 403), in his review of *P. Germann's* "Die Völkerstämme im Norden von Liberia", classes the trident discovered by G. among the Commendi (par. 15 above) with what B. calls the "late Sudan" ("jungsudanische") culture (See *Baumann*, in "Africa" 1934, p. 139).

⁸¹ *Palmer's* work "The Bornu Sahara and Sudan" (London 1936) I have not accessible.

⁸² The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. III, pp. 99, 104 and 109; Fig. 49, Pl. XLIV, 4. Stockholm 1937.



*Fig. 1. a Gam-
bia. b—c Tou-
coulours,
Gambia. d Si-
erra Leone?*

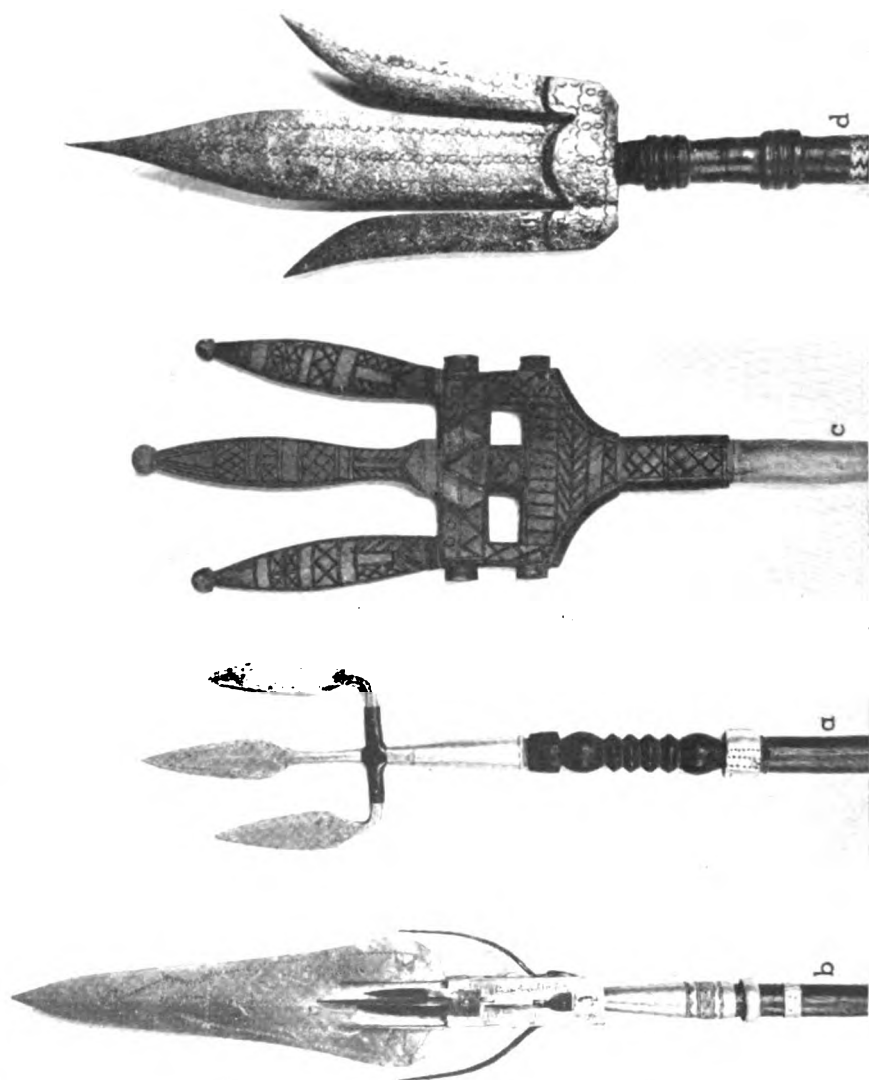


Fig. 2. Vide fig. 1.

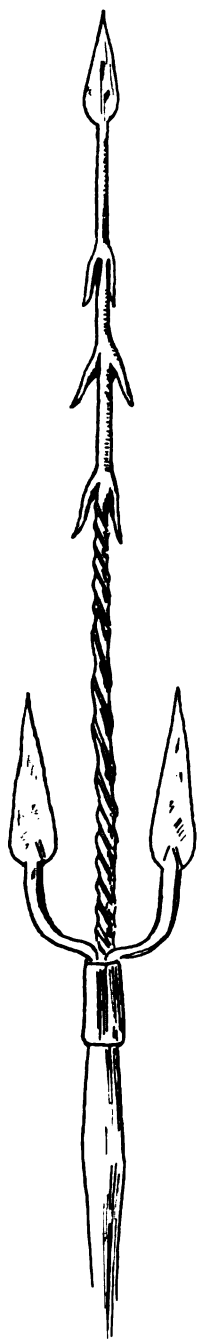


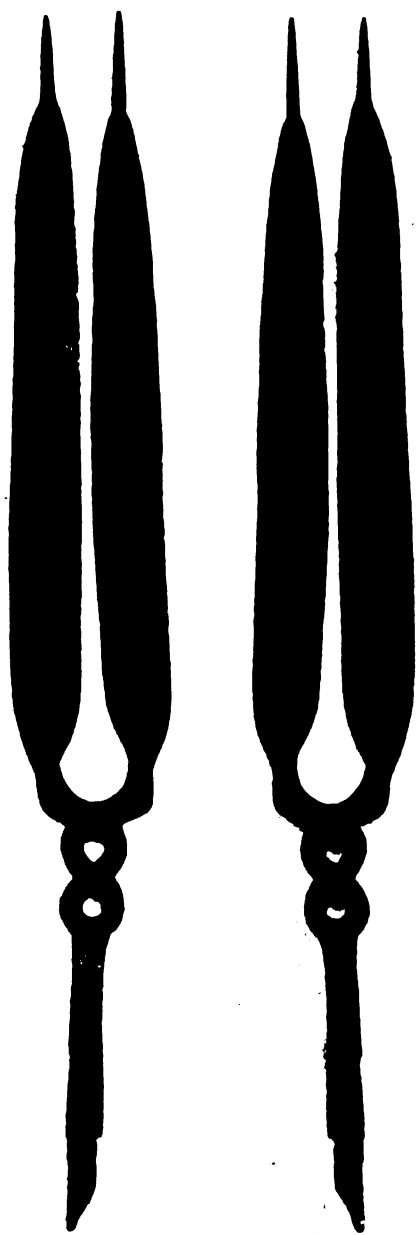
Fig. 3. Bissagos Islands. (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Leipzig. M.F. 5538).



Fig. 4. Bidyogo (after Bernatzik).



Fig. 5. Konakry. (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Lucbeck. Length 1.5 m.).



*Fig. 7. Benin.
(Mus. f. Völker-
kunde, Hamburg.
No. 1049: 05).*

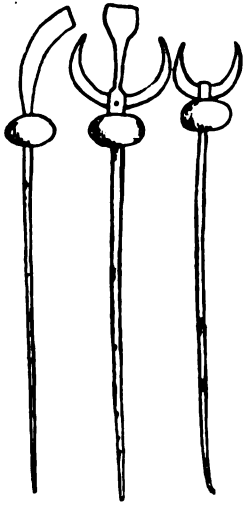


Fig. 6. Iron standards, Ashanti
(after Elworthy).

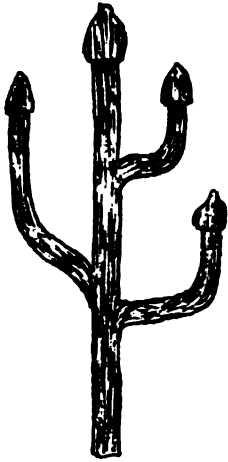


Fig. 9. Bali,
Cameroon.
(after Hutter).

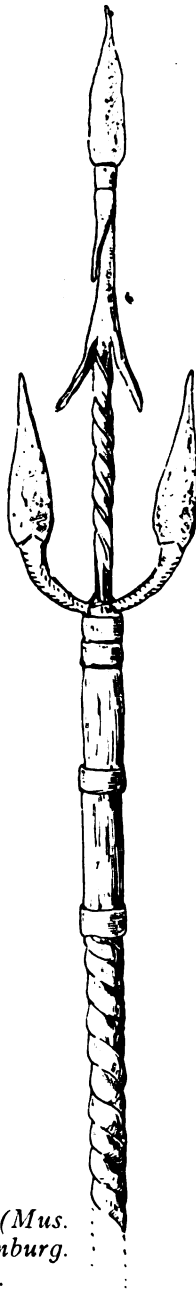


Fig. 8. "Nigeria". (Mus.
f. Völkerkunde, Hamburg.
No. 34.55: 10).



Fig. 10. Tiv
(Munchi), N. Ni-
geria. (British
Museum).



Fig. 11. Shiluk. (By courtesy of Prof. L. Cipriani).



Fig. 12. Bari. (By courtesy of Prof. L. Cipriani).



*Fig. 13. Rain-maker's stick, Bari.
(after Beaton).*



*Fig. 14. Alur.
(after Flamme).*



*Fig. 15. The Bongo-Mittu group. (after
Hirschberg).*



Fig. 16. "Eastern Sudan".
(Museo Preistorico-Etnografico, Rome).

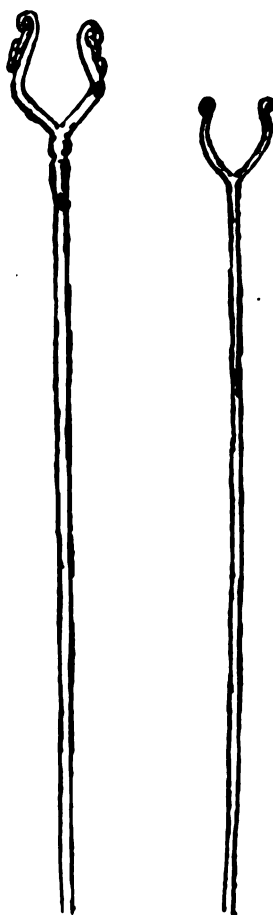


Fig. 17. Ya'qubab,
Sennar. (after Arkell).

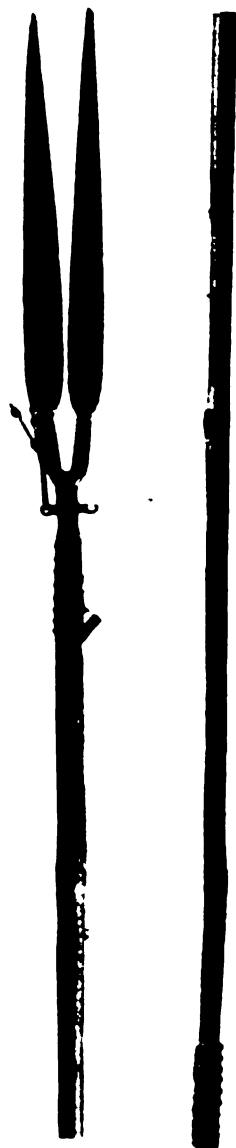


Fig. 18. Gimma,
Abagifar. (Museo
Preistorico-Etno-
grafico, Rome).

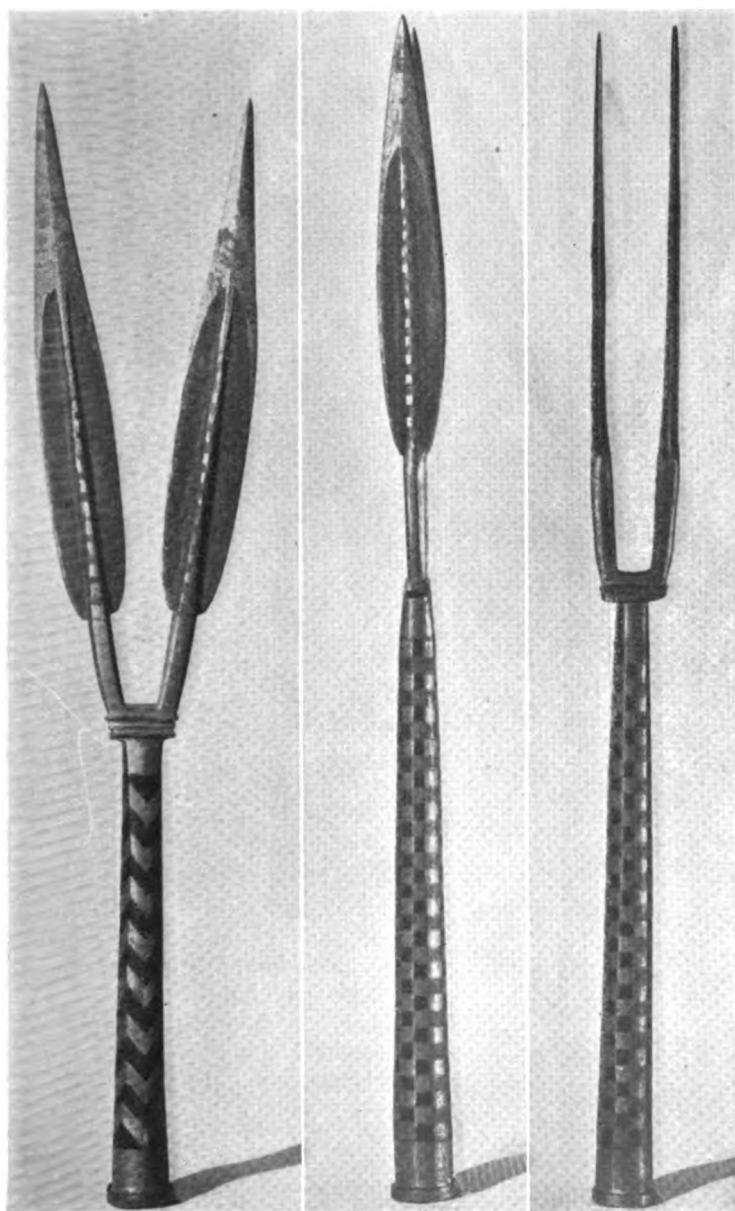
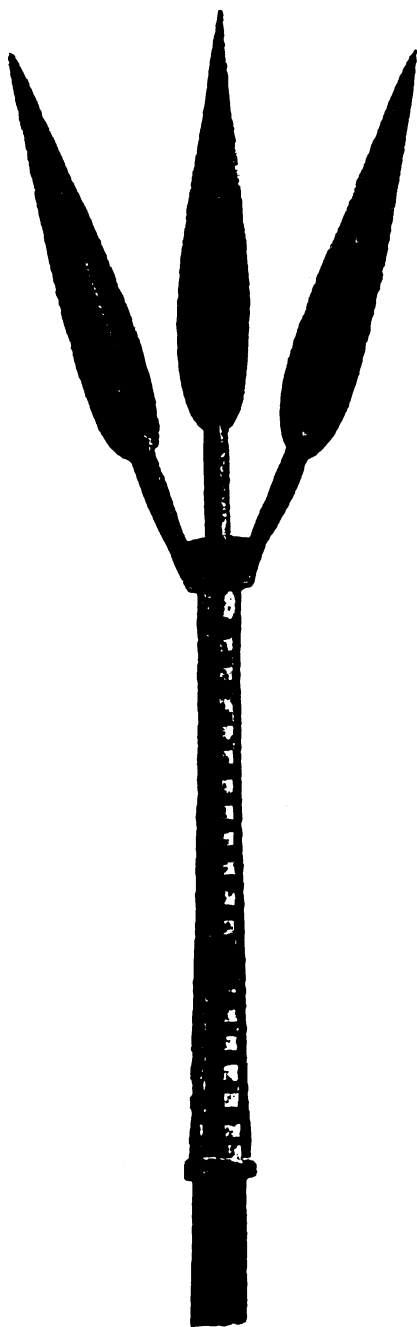


Fig. 19. Addis Ababa. (By courtesy of L. Clarke and W. Thesiger).



*Fig. 20. "Italian Somaliland".
(Società Africana d'Italia,
Naples).*



Fig. 21. "Italian Somaliland". (Società Africana d'Italia, Naples).



Fig. 22. Dankali, Aussa sultanate. (Società Geografica, Rome).



Fig. 23. British Somaliland. (University Museum of archaeology and ethnology, Cambridge).



Fig. 24. Haver-Ghedir, Italian Somaliland. (Museo Nazionale, Firenze).



Figs. 25—26. Uganda. (University Museum of archaeology and ethnology, Cambridge).

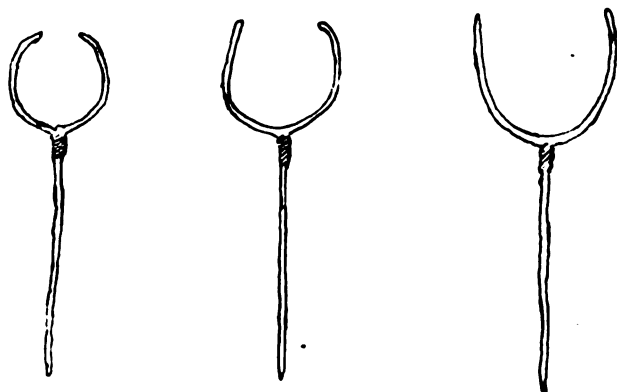


Fig. 28. Iron staffs, Wabena. (after Culwick).

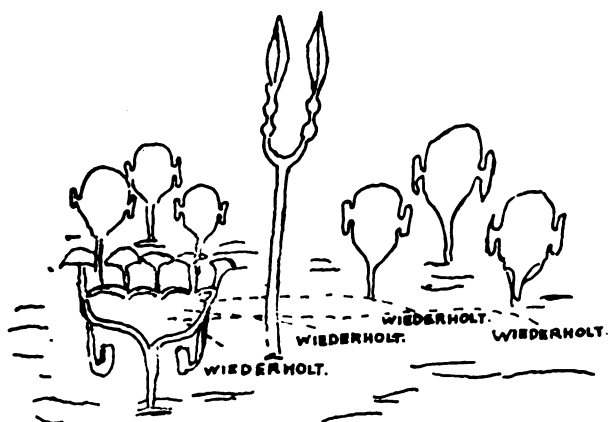


Fig. 29. Ubungu. (By courtesy of Dr. H. Baumann).

Fig. 27. Bow-stand, Buddu. (after Kollmann).

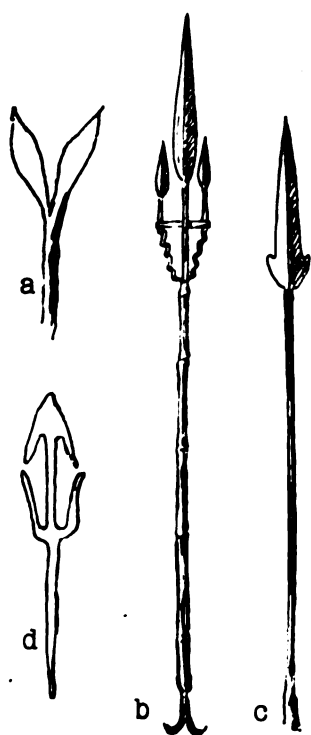


Fig. 30. a Bident, door-carving. Ulanda, Lake Rukwa. (By courtesy of Dr. H. Baumann). b Batoka, N. Rhodesia (after Gordon Lancaster). c East Luangwa, N. Rhodesia. d Zimbabwe (after Caton-Thompson).



Fig. 31. Zulu "spear". (By courtesy of Prof. L. Cipriani).

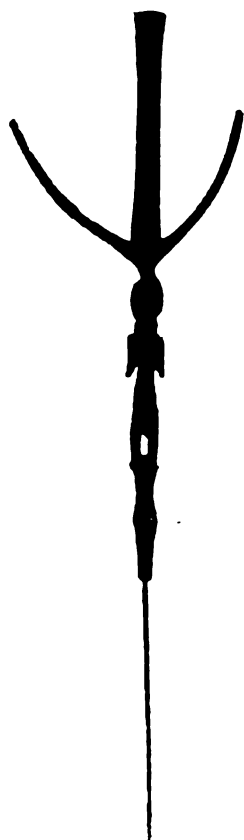


Fig. 32. Wooden staff, Baluba. (The Cologne Museum).



Fig. 33. Iron bident, Sango. Iron trident, Congo. (Musée du Congo Belge, Tervueren).

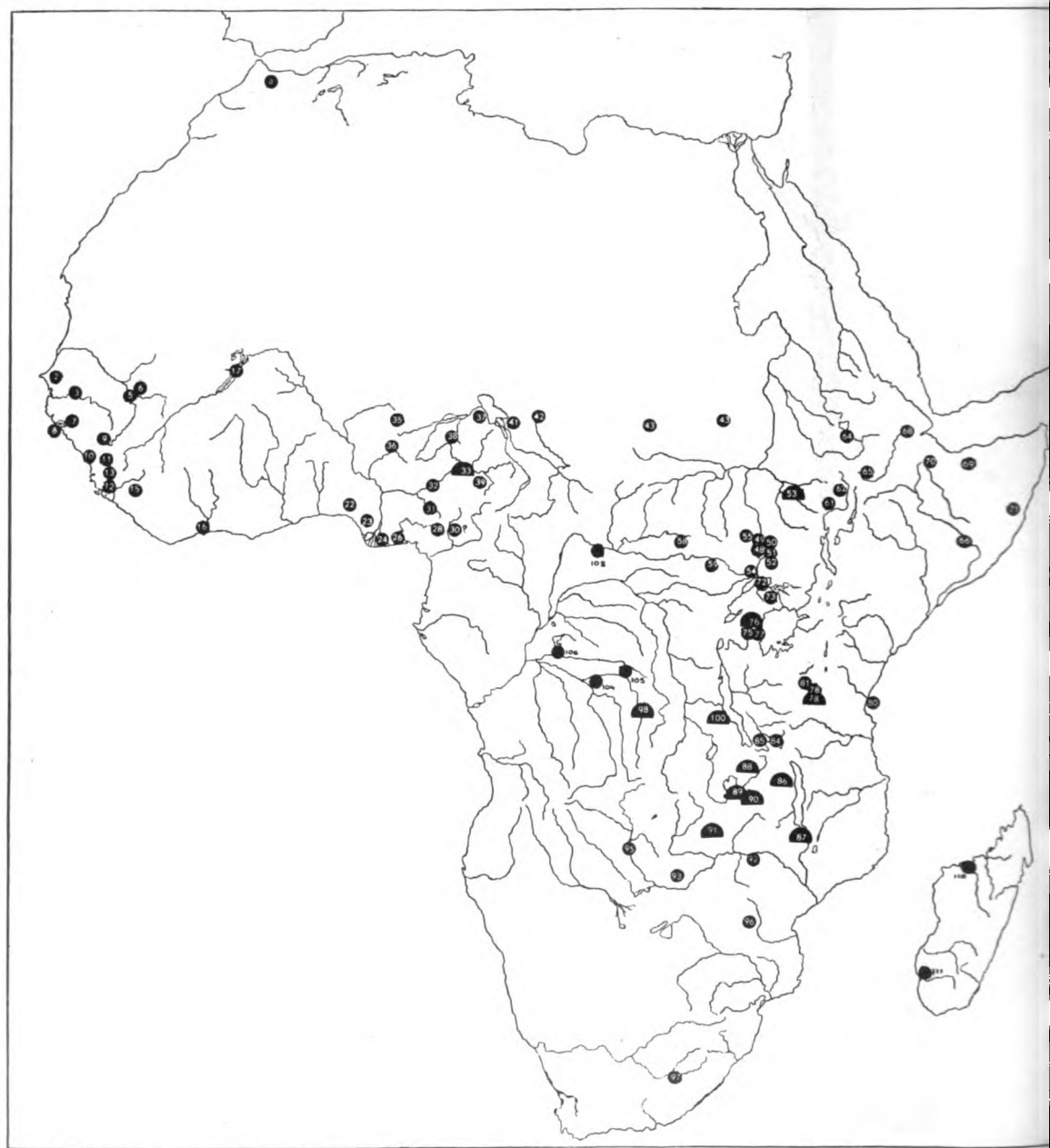


Fig. 34. Distribution of multi-pronged spears and weapon-stands.

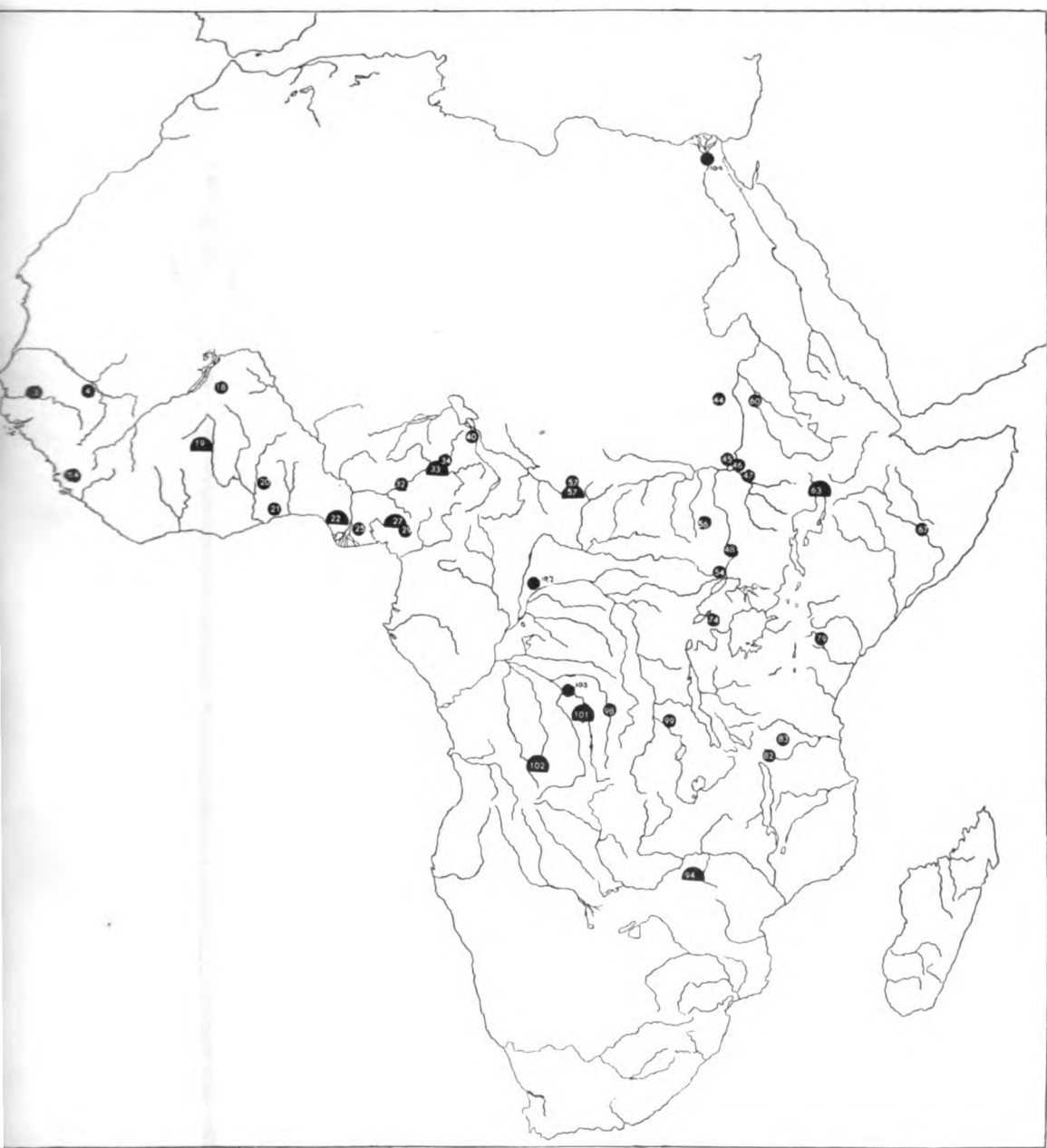
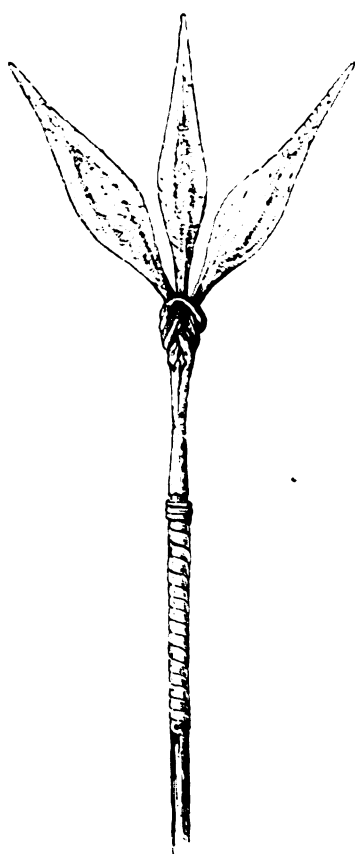


Fig. 35. Distribution of forked staffs and certain forked objects.



*Fig. 36. Iron trident,
"Ubangi?" (Mus. f. Völker-
kunde, Hamburg, No.
35.139: 231).*



Fig. 37. "Congo"? (Società Geografica, Rome).

**WIRE-DRAWING,
ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA**



